

ABSTRACT

Title of Document:

THE MEDIA-POLICY RELATIONSHIP:
ANTI-HUNGER POLICY IN AMERICA AS
AN EXAMPLE OF BRIDGING MEDIA AND
POLICY THEORY THROUGH BETTER
DEFINITIONS

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A central purpose of journalism is to *inform* the public. Public policy is one area where such information is critical to citizens. With respect to hunger, many credit media reporting in the 1960s with creating the political will to implement anti-hunger policies such as the Food Stamp program. Fifty years later, the media's role is different. In 2014, the number of Americans receiving aid through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) rose to almost 15% of the population. The bi-partisan Congressional response was to cut SNAP funding. The editorial boards of the *New York Times*, *USA Today* and *Washington Post* response to this apparent disconnect between need and funding was to *support* the cuts.

Anti-hunger advocates fault the media's framing of hunger for the cuts to SNAP and imply the public is not being properly informed. To investigate these claims required

filling a major gap in both public policy and framing research: the lack of precise definitions of the unit of study. Though media framing theory is useful in explicating the “media-policy link,” neither the public policy nor the media literature consistently identify frames in terms meaningful to both disciplines. This dissertation argues that grouping existing definitions of key public policy concepts into the collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories of *public problem*, *public policy*, *public policy tools*, *public policy goals*, and *public policy ends* resolves the inconsistency problem and fosters communication across disciplines. Using key points in the last 55 years of anti-hunger policy in America, it explores how utilizing these categories to group media “frames” allows for generalizable results for future studies as well as the ability to reorganize the results of data from previous studies in both disciplines. They also provide the means to operationalize what is meant by “informing” the public by explicating the media’s relationship to the interactions between these categories in the policy process. Using these categories, the study reveals that the media focus on anti-hunger *policy tools* while ignoring the *problem* of hunger they are intended to remedy.

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AS AN EXAMPLE OF BRIDGING MEDIA AND POLICY THEORY THROUGH
BETTER DEFINITIONS

By

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Preface

There are three particular points that need to be kept in mind when reading this paper. First, a major theme of the project is that the failure to use precise definitions and terminology contributes to a general confusion in the literature. However, the reality is that a balance should be struck between precision and using linguistic forms that may distract the reader. Using the word “public” as a prefix for each of the categories developed in this project, as in *public* problem, *public* policy, *public* policy tools, *public* policy goals, and *public* policy ends creates certain difficulties. While these terms are accurate, they are potentially distracting. In earlier drafts of portions of this project it became clear that placing the word “public” before each of the category titles was distracting. The repetitive use of the word “public” has the potential to frustrate rather than inform the reader. The remedy for this is to omit the constant placement of the word “public” before each category name and state up front that this project’s categories of problem, policy, policy goals, policy tools and policy ends refer to *public* problems, *public* policy, *public* policy goals, *public* policy tools, and *public* policy ends unless otherwise stated.

The second point deals with the presentation of the definitions of each category presented in Section 3.4.2 “Policy Category Definitions.” Each definition was constructed using definitions and constructs obtained by reviewing the literature. To satisfy the requirement to accurately cite each source without making the definition unreadable was a challenge. The definition for “problem” for example involves citations from twenty-two sources. Sometimes only one word is taken from a source and following the normal convention of inserting the citation immediately

after the work would have resulted in a confusing array of a word or two interspersed with a citation followed by another word or groups of words and then more citations, and so forth. To address this problem, a footnote mark is placed immediately after the appropriate word or section of the definition. The footnote references one of the tables in Appendix F that contain the appropriate source or sources for each word or group of words. In addition, the tables in Appendix F also contain the exact material for each source that was used to construct the category definitions for this project. The procedure is explained in detail in Section 3.4.2, but it is important to give the reader advance notice that a conscious decision was made to ensure the readability of the definitions, while making clear a means by which the reader can obtain the sources of any material not original to the author.

The final point relates to the intent of this paper. The goal is not to “prove” that media coverage alone was responsible for the passage of nutrition legislation that increased or decreased Food Stamp or Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits. There are many factors associated with the passage of legislation such as the political parties in control of Congress and the White House, the state of the economy, the different groups advocating for or against legislation, and so forth. Rather, the paper first defines mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive definitions of the elements of “policy.” It then uses these definitions to explore the media coverage of particular bills to examine if the connections that exist between these elements in the real world, such as between a problem and policy tool meant to address the problem, are present in the media, and the result of their presence or absence. The results of this study are not generalizable to all

legislation because the individual bills studied were specifically chosen (nonprobability sampling), instead of through a random sampling process. They were chosen because they deal with the single largest nutrition program, food stamps/SNAP, cover four distinct periods in the 55-year history of this program and two of them increased and two of them decreased benefits. As such, they represent a good cross-section of legislation affecting a significant program, over a long period of time that includes different political and economic conditions. Therefore, the results, while not generalizable, demonstrate that the definitions developed are valid and offer a common lexicon that can be used by both media and policy scholars in their research of the media-policy relationship when employing more traditional random sampling techniques and analysis.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife, Nancy Lee De Munbrun. No one has done more to see this work completed than she, and to her I owe a debt of gratitude that I will never be able to repay.

Acknowledgements

To fulfill one's dream of receiving a Ph.D. requires the help of so many people and I wish to thank them here publicly. No one has had a more understanding, patient and supportive chair, than I had in Dr. Sarah Oates. Dr. Joe Oppenheimer graciously came out of retirement to serve and provide invaluable advice and critique. Dr. Susan Moeller typifies the dedication and quality of the Philip Merrill faculty, as does Dr. Mark Feldstein. And Dr. Philip Joyce of the School of Public Policy was a steady and knowledgeable guide through the forest of public policy.

Others to whom I most indebted are my daughters, Jessica and Kate whose encouragement and example make me smile even now. The late Dr. Donald Wood who guided and aided me when I needed it most. My colleagues at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, David Black, Terry Logan, Bill King, and John Pirchio, whose encouragement and aid in my work and personal life were instrumental in my being able to pursue the dream of a Ph.D. Joel Berg, Executive Director of Hunger Free America, who I introduced to the wonders of the federal bureaucracy, and he reciprocated by demonstrating that political appointees could be truly honest and care more about the public than the politics. Without the help of all these and many more people, I couldn't have finished this work. I hope that it is worthy of the patience, encouragement and assistance they have all given me.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

If public policy scholars want to know “Why do governments pursue the policies that they do” (Wolfe, Jones, & Baumgartner, 2013, p. 175); media scholars want to know if the media matter in this process (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008, p. 707). Both questions are intricately connected, “deceptively complex,” (Wolfe et al., 2013, p. *ibid.*) and lie at the center of what Spitzer and Voltmer & Koch-Baumgarten call the “media-policy link” (1993, p. 8; 2010b, p. 2). This link is not just a handy metaphor. Central to the role of the media in the arena of public policy is the notion that media are to “inform” or “educate” the public, Lippman quoted in Patterson (2013, p. 9). As Thomas Jefferson believed, without being “informed” the public cannot ensure that their “liberty and property” will be “safe” (Lipscomb & Bergh, 1903-04, pp. Vol. 14, 384). By “informing” citizens, the media are expected to provide them with the information that is essential to play a role in what Lasswell called the “who gets what, when, and how” process that is politics and public policy formation (1936). This role is the cornerstone of the First Amendment and does not merely imply, but makes explicit, a link or connection between the media and public policies.

The media support of cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (formerly called Food Stamp program)¹ in 2014, while the need for the program

¹ The name of the Food Stamp program was officially changed June 18, 2008, to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) by Title IV of the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008. There can be some confusion between the terms “food stamps” and “SNAP.” The media and sources quoted in media stories, including government officials and members of Congress often use the two interchangeably. This paper will use the term that applies during the period being discussed, with the exception that it may use “SNAP/Food Stamps” when just the use of the acronym SNAP might be confused as something other than Food Stamps.

was at a historic high raises important questions. What is the relationship between the media and policy? What does it mean to “inform” the public, especially with regard to policy, and how well is the media performing that function?

Investigating these questions requires examining both media and policy literature. However, a gap in both policy and media framing research hampers this examination: the lack of precise definitions of the unit of study. Though the media-framing theory is useful in explicating the “media-policy link,” neither the policy nor the media literature consistently identifies frames in terms meaningful to both disciplines. The scholarly literature’s indiscriminate use of the terms “issue,” “policy” or “problem” result in stand-alone studies that do not add to the cumulative understanding of the media-policy relationship² in either the media or the policy disciplines. Simply put, it is difficult to study the media-policy relationship if one cannot even define what is meant by “policy.” It is the goal of this dissertation to provide insight into the media-policy connection and refine our understanding of and ability to assess how well the media is doing in “informing” the public by providing suitable definitions of the unit of study.

1.1 A Revealing Disconnect

Recent action on nutrition assistance policy has resulted in a curious disconnect between the dramatically increasing need for food assistance in America and the media’s support of cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Between September 30, 2008, and October 1, 2014, the number of people poor enough to receive

² Spitzer uses the term “media-policy *link*” (1993) to describe the connection between the media and public policy. However, link is too thin a word to describe robust and complex interactions that take place between the media and policy. This project adopts the position that *relationship* is a more accurate term.

nutrition assistance rose 68% from 28.2 million to 47.6 million, (U.S. Department of Agriculture Food and Nutrition Service, 2014) or almost 15% of the population.³ Yet, over a three-year period (2011 to 2014), the policy response to this increase was a succession of bipartisan proposals in Congress to reduce funding for federal nutrition aid programs. The proposals ended in the passage of P.L. 113-79, The Agriculture Act of 2014⁴ which, cut eight billion dollars over ten years from SNAP⁵ (U.S. Department of Agriculture Food and Nutrition Service, 2013, 2014). Most significantly, the editorial boards of the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post* all supported these cuts (*New York Times* Editorial Board, 2014; *USA Today* Editorial Board, 2014; *Washington Post* Editorial Board, 2013).

The media's support of the cuts is surprising given that historically the media have been viewed as a significant player in creating awareness in the minds of the public as to the nature and scope of hunger in America (Berry, 1984, p. 46; Fishbein, 1977; Galer-Unti, 1995; Kotz, 1971, p. 8; Poppendieck, 1995, p. 19; 1997, p. 135). The media is even credited with providing the seminal event, the airing of "CBS Reports: Hunger in America," which supposedly⁶ precipitated the actions that led to the eventual creation of

³ U.S. population assumed to be 317,808,478 from the U.S. Census "Pop Clock." <http://www.census.gov/popclock/> viewed at 3:00pm EST, 4/04/14.

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Congressional acts in this paper refer to the "session" version of the statute as "enrolled" and contained in the United States Statutes at Large and not the version contained in the United States Code.

⁵ See appendix A for a detailing of specific legislative proposals during the period of June 2011 and February 2014.

⁶ Even though Senator McGovern himself said that he introduced a resolution to create the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs the "day after" he viewed "CBS Reports: Hunger in America," this was a misstatement of fact (McGovern, 2001, p. 70). He actually stood on the Senate floor and said he would introduce a resolution the day after the "Citizen's Board of Inquiry in to Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States" was released on April 22, 1968 (114 Cong. Rec.

the Food Stamp program (Brown & Pizer, 1987, p. 4; Kotz, 1971, p. 115; MacDonald, 1977, p. 9; McGovern, 2001, pp. 69-71).

In discussing the legislative actions with members of the anti-hunger community, they noted several possible reasons for proposed cuts, with an emphasis on the media's presentation of the issue of hunger in America. They cited: (1) a focus on charities, especially local charities as being the solution (Berg, 2012, 2013a; Egger, 2013); (2) a failure to mention government as a solution (Berg, 2013b); (3) a "total lack of context," for example, comparing the amount spent on SNAP with that spent on defense (Cooney, 2013); and (4) a portrayal of hunger as a sterile "budget" issue as opposed to a "human" issue (Cooney, 2013; Freedman, August 10, 2012). They also identified a lack of attention to hunger issues by the media (Berg, 2008, pp. 217-234; 2013b).

Regarding media theory, these "presentations" are frames: "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Or more specifically, "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Tankard, 2003, p. 100). Given that it is widely accepted that the media have some relationship to public policy, it is logical for anti-hunger groups to look to the media frames as one factor that shaped the legislative proposals that culminated in the Agriculture Act of 2014 (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2010, p. 663; Cook, 1998, p. 129; McCombs & Shaw, 1993; P. Sabatier, 2007a; Voltmer & Koch-Baumgarten, 2010a; Wolfe et al., 2013). Using the

10,181). He submitted the formal resolution to create the select committee April 28, 1968 (114 Cong. Rec. 10, 789). "CBS Reports: Hunger in America" did not air until May 21, 1968.

Food Stamp /SNAP program as an example, in the 1960s and 1970s, the media framed the issue hunger as an urgent need. Most recently, the media has framed a portion of SNAP—Heat and Eat--as being a “scam” and a “loophole”⁷ that justifies cutting food assistance (*New York Times* Editorial Board, 2014; *USA Today* Editorial Board, 2014; *Washington Post* Editorial Board, 2013). Media scholars could hypothesize, and most anti-hunger advocates might agree that in both instances, the media had an impact if not an “effect.” The media’s frames of hunger in the 1960s and 1970s preceded the creation of the Food Stamp program, and the current “scam” and “loophole” frames preceded the passage of cuts to the program.

Setting aside the obvious correlation/causation dilemma, such a simple comparison does little to explain why the media that previously played a significant role in raising awareness of the need for assistance, supported cuts when the need had risen to a historically high level of almost 15 % of Americans. What does this say about the media’s “informing” the public? How can they be performing this essential role if they seem to ignore the rising need by supporting cuts to a program meeting the need? Did they, in fact, ignore the need? Were there frames of the need in the media? If so, what was the relationship between those frames and the “scam” or “loophole” frames? Were the sources of the frames of need different in the 1960s than they were leading up to the Agriculture Act of 2014? What is the current relationship between the media and anti-hunger policy? Has it changed from the past? To answer those questions requires heeding Chaffee’s admonition to “look beneath the surface” to comprehend “what is really going on” (1991, p. 3).

⁷ See Appendix B for a description of the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) commonly known as “Heat and Eat.”

1.2 Why Study Anti-Hunger Policy in America?

The quest to “look beneath” cannot be frivolous. It should involve an important topic, and while the fact that the anti-hunger community feels that the media plays a significant role in their fight against hunger might be justification enough to study the media-public policy relationship, there are two other important reasons. First, despite the money spent on food assistance by the federal government, hunger still exists in America. Current programs have eliminated the “starvation” and malnutrition that existed in the late 1960’s (Citizens’ Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, 1968, p. 10; Wheeler & Coles, 1968, p. 6). However, they have not eradicated the need for food assistance. They are not even meeting the entire need for assistance. In 2015, the federal government gave 45.7 million people 69.7 billion dollars in SNAP assistance (U.S. Department of Agriculture - Food and Nutrition Service, 2016). Yet, in the same year, FeedingAmerica’s 46,000 member organizations were providing additional food assistance through 58,000 feeding programs such as food banks and “soup kitchens” (FeedingAmerica, 2016) to people whose SNAP benefits were insufficient or who did not qualify to receive benefits.

Second, political support for cutting SNAP benefits may affect programs that have been the foundation of American agricultural policy for over 80 years. SNAP is not funded by a stand-alone piece of legislation. Since 1977, it has been part of a larger piece of legislation commonly known as the “farm bill,”⁸ which is reauthorized approximately

⁸ “The farm bill is an omnibus, multi-year piece of authorizing legislation that governs an array of agricultural and food programs. Although agricultural policies sometimes are created and changed by freestanding legislation or as part of other major laws, the farm bill provides a predictable opportunity for policy makers to comprehensively and periodically address agricultural and food issues. The farm bill is renewed about every five years” (Johnson & Monke, 2014, p. 1).

every five years (the Food and Agriculture Act of 1977)⁹. Besides SNAP, the farm bill includes the major federal programs supporting agriculture such as crop subsidies, dairy support, agricultural research, crop insurance, conservation, rural development, marketing and even some forestry programs. This linkage is consistent with the fact that food assistance to the poor has been tied to benefits to American agriculture since the first pilot food stamp program in 1939 (Pepperl, 2012). Milo Perkins, the director of that first program, made such a link clear, saying:

We got a picture of a gorge, with farm surpluses on one cliff and under-nourished city folks with outstretched hands on the other. We set out to find a practical way to build a bridge across that chasm. The program met this goal of providing surpluses to the malnourished. . . . (U.S. Department of Agriculture - Food and Nutrition Service, 2014).

The link continued in the modern era. For example, the current SNAP program has its origins in the Food Stamp Act of 1964. The stated purpose for that act begins, “To strengthen the agricultural economy; to help to achieve a fuller and more effective use of food abundances. . . .(P.L. 88-525).” Beyond just that statement, it was widely believed at the time that Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan (D), representing urban St. Louis, engaged in old-fashion logrolling to secure passage of the Food Stamp Act of 1964. She is said to have linked urban representatives’ favorable votes on tobacco research, wheat and cotton price supports to rural representatives voting for passage of the act (Ripley, 1969). The linkage was formalized with the incorporation of the food stamp program into the 1977 Farm Bill—the Food and Agriculture Act of 1977 (Andrews & Clancy, 1993, p. 68). The

⁹ The farm bill is designed to be renewed every five years. However, political considerations may affect this cycle. The 2008 farm bill was supposed to be reauthorized in 2013. Political battles resulted in a one-year extension, with a final five-year farm bill, The Agriculture Act of 2014 (P.L. 113-79) being passed January 3, 2014.

stated purpose of that act, “To provide price and income protection for farmers and assure consumers of an abundance of food and fiber at reasonable prices, and for other purposes,” continues the emphasis on farmers, with food stamps being “other purposes” (P.L. 94-113).

More recently, the Food Conservation and Energy Act of 2008 (P.L. 110-246) (the 2008 farm bill) typifies the linkage of interests. President Bush vetoed that farm bill. He thought it was too expensive, not because of SNAP, but because of the cost of farm subsidies and non-agriculture related earmarks (Bush, 2008). His veto message does not even mention SNAP or domestic nutrition programs. Only 99 of 195 Republicans in the House voted to override the veto, but with 218 of 235 Democrats joining them, the veto was overridden (Clerk of the House, 2008). Does that mean that a majority of Democrats favored farm subsidies or were they willing to accept the subsidies in return for preserving SNAP? This question is not merely “academic.” The fiscal year 2017 House of Representatives Budget Resolution calls for converting the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, nee food stamp program) into an “allotment (block grant, Ed.) tailored to each State’s low-income population (H.R. Rep. No. 114-470, 2016, p. 159).” Creating block grants would decouple SNAP from the farm bill. That in turn would seem to decouple the interests of legislators from rural areas (agriculture interests) from those of urban legislators (SNAP and nutrition interests). Some observers believe this will make it much harder for the individual interests to gain enough support to maintain their programs funding levels and resist cuts (C. Bosso; personal communication, March 3, 2016). In short, actions to reduce SNAP funding could also leave the country’s major agricultural programs vulnerable to reductions.

1.3 What is Really Going On?

The factors related to anti-hunger policy and the at least perceived importance of the media make it worthwhile to study their relationship; the question is how? Obviously, determining what is “really going on” in the media/anti-hunger relationship requires studying both sides of the relationship. A study based solely on a media theory without showing links to policy theory is not a study of a “relationship.” It is simply another one-off or ad hoc media study. Ideally, a starting point to connect both sides of the relationship would be to position a theory of one field or sphere into a theory of the other. The theory and its constructs would provide an initial structure and give boundaries to guide the analysis. At first, this may seem to be a difficult task. There are those that argue that the fields on either side of the relationship have “. . . Developed in parallel rather than in tandem (Wolfe et al., 2013, p. 186),” and the “research on the media-policy nexus is still in its infancy” (Voltmer & Koch-Baumgarten, 2010a, p. 225). On the surface, this appears to be true.

In the media sphere, we ask if the “media govern” (Iyengar & Reeves, 1997). We even question whether or not the media’s contribution to the policy process is “positive” (Soroka, Farnsworth, Laylor, & Young, 2013), but we do not answer those questions within the context of a media theory positioned within a theory of public policy. Iyengar offers that television news “tends to obscure the connections between social problems and the actions or inactions of a political leader,” but not within the context of a theory of policy (1991, p. 142). Yanovitzky notes that media impact or effect is “contingent” on several factors including, the length of media coverage, the actual policy issue and the “policy options that are available to policymakers and the degree of freedom or flexibility

(political, economic, and moral) they have to pursue such options” (2002, p. 445).

Walgrave and Van Aelst go further to organize the “contingent” factors into a model for predicting policy adoption, yet again not within the context of the theory of policy development (2006).

In the public policy literature, both framing and agenda setting are acknowledged as serving some function in the public policy process, but not as a central element of any one theory of public policy. In Sabatier’s *Theories of the Policy Process*¹⁰ (2007), the media do not even rate a mention in the index. Nowlin’s review of theories of the policy process and a look towards emerging trends does note that public opinion is an element of several theories. However, there is no mention of the media or the press and their possible relation to public opinion (Nowlin, 2011).

From all this, one might conclude that there, in fact, has been very little “intellectual interchange” between media and policy scholars (Rogers & Dearing, 1988, p. 580). That is not the case, at least with respect to the concept of “framing.” A look at the citations of key media and policy works shows quite a robust interchange. A *Scholar.Google.com* search of Scheufele’s *Framing as a Theory of Media Effects* shows that this work by a mass communication scholar has been cited 2,638 times. If you order the list of those articles by how many times they were cited, you see that of the top five articles; two were in journals that have a focus on policy rather than the media: the *Annual Review of Sociology*, and the *Annual Review of Political Science*.¹¹ Articles in

¹⁰ The book focuses on five theoretical frameworks: The Stages Heuristic, Institutional Rational Choice, Multiple Streams Framework, Punctuated-Equilibrium Framework, and the Advocacy Coalition Framework.

¹¹ See Appendix C for the list of articles cited.

these two journals (Benford & Snow, 2000; Chong & Druckman, 2007a), were, in turn, were cited 5,214 and 1,293 times respectively. A similar search of Entman's *Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm*, shows that this work by a mass media scholar was cited 7,961 times. If you order the list of those articles by how many times they were cited, you see that of the top ten, four were by policy scholars¹², which in turn were cited a total of 6,011 times.¹³

1.3.1 A Failure to Communicate or Failure to Define?

Just as the apparent disconnect between hunger and the media support of cuts to SNAP is revealing, so to is the apparent disconnect between media and policy scholars citing one another without the formulation of a clearer theoretical nexus between media and policy research. If there is scholarly cross-pollination taking place, why isn't there a stronger connection between media and policy theory? The answer begins to emerge when one attempts to find common concepts and constructs to bridge both sides of the media policy relationship.

The notion of "framing" and its relationship to public policy is accepted in both the media and public policy literature (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 44; Callaghan & Schnell, 2005b, p. xi; Entman, 1993, p. 52; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143; Graber, 2010, pp. 140-141; Kahneman, 2011, p. 370; Lewis & Reese, 2009, p. 85; Wolfe et al., 2013). This makes media framing appear to be a suitable candidate theory for the media side of the media-policy relationship and a source of common concepts and constructs.

¹² All four, Frank Fischer, Eric Klinenberg, Thomas E. Nelson, and Holli Semetko teach in the political science departments of their respective universities.

¹³ See Appendix D for the list of articles cited. While the number of citations may contain some duplicates, the sheer number indicates a robust interchange.

However, while framing is suitable as a theory, it is not a very good source of candidate terms for two reasons. First, it is criticized by some for lack of a “simultaneously generalizable terms, for the kinds of frames commonly found in the media and in public depictions of public issues” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 79). As Hertog and McLeod point out, “one of the most frustrating tendencies in the study of frames and framing is the tendency of scholars to generate a new set of frames for every study of every social phenomenon” (Hertog & McLeod, 2001, p. 150). Second, the nature of the media, especially the news media, is not to create topics or subjects but to report on them. The subjects of frames are not supposed to be created on the media side of the media-public policy relationship. On the other hand, it is a major function of the policy side to be the source of the topics or subjects for frames. This makes the policy side the place one is most likely to find candidates for common terms and concepts.

Unfortunately, on the policy side, there is a lack of specificity in the actual “subjects” or “topics” of frames related to the media-public policy relationship. Several terms, “policy,” “policy issue,” “problem,” and especially just “issue” are used almost indiscriminately to describe conceptually different constructs such as . It is used to describe “topics” as broad as unemployment, poverty, affirmative action (Iyengar, 1991, pp. 48-50); nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 13); obesity (Lawrence, 2004, p. 60); school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 933); or, immigration policy and federal funding for stem cell research (Lee, McLeod, & Shah, 2008). Frequently, multiple terms are used to name the same concept. Lawrence uses the terms “problem” and “issue” to describe obesity (2004, p. 57). Downs does the same thing in his seminal “Up and Down with Ecology-‘The Issue-Attention Cycle,’” using the terms “issue” (51

times) and “problem” (61 times) interchangeably (1972). The lack of specificity is so extreme that there is not even a standard definition of “policy,” the central component of the media-policy relationship. Birkland argues that “it may be fruitless to look for one particular definition of public policy. . .” (2011, p. 8). Smith and Larimer agree that “the bottom line is that there is no precise and universal definition of public policy, nor is it likely that such a definition will be conceived in the near future” (2009, p. 4).¹⁴ A similar lack of consensus exists with the term “problem.” It can be something people “come to believe they should do something about” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 109; Kraft & Furlong, 2015, p. 500); something that can be resolved (ibid.); something people “can realistically try to solve” (Birkland, 2011, p. 109); or “political issues. . .defined in a way that government can do something about them with the kinds of tools it has on hand. . . .they must be framed in a way that they are perceived as bad situations and moral wrongs that government can and should fix” (Gamble & Stone, 2006, p. 95).

This lack of commonly defined concepts, constructs, and terms is the reason there can be so much interchange between the media and policy literature without there being a clear nexus between the theories of both fields. There are no commonly defined concepts, constructs or terms that allow researchers in one field to relate to the work done in the other. Wolfe and Baumgartner argue that media and policy scholars, “. . . Do not communicate as much as they could or should” (2013, p. 176). This paper argues that the difficulty is not a lack of interchange between the fields. Rather, there has been a lack of precisely defined terms that make the interchange that is going on less fruitful or less cumulative than it might be otherwise. How can media scholars and policy scholars

¹⁴ For a sample of other definitions of public policy see *Understanding Public Policy* (Dye, 2013, p. 12).

understand one another's work if policy scholars cannot even define "policy," and neither party has a common definition of "problem?" We do not have a failure to communicate; we have a failure to define the basic elements that make meaningful communication possible between the fields.

1.3.2 Consequences of a Lack of Specific Definitions

All this lack of specific definitions results in a literature filled with "debates" about how we conceptualize frames (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 217); whether our framing paradigm is "fractured" and requires "clarification" (Entman, 1993); if a single paradigm is even possible or desirable (D'angelo, 2002); and a body of studies using unique "frames" of value only to their particular study (Borah, 2011). The lack of specificity is so common it even bleeds into a study of the lack of specificity in framing. In a review of a decade (1997-2007) of research, Borah found that 49.1% of the studies used unique frames and only 32.9% consistent frames (2011, p. 255). "Unique" frames are defined as "frames that are specific to the particular issue under study (ibid., , p. 256)." "Consistent" frames were determined to be "strategy frames" or "value frames." Those were obtained "from prior studies that had consistently studied those frames [strategy and value, ed.] and the frames have been applied to various issues (ibid., , p. 253)." While unique and consistent are definitions or groupings of frames, they are categories of frames that are unsuitable for our purposes.

For example, a value frame, "is a particular sort of frame that draws an association between a value and an issue that carries an evaluative implication: it presents one position on an issue as being right (and others as wrong) by linking that position to a specific core value" (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 931). Strategy frames are a type of "news

frame” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 39). News frames “are those rhetorical and stylistic choices, reliably identified in the news, that alter the interpretations of the topics treated and are a consistent part of the news environment (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 40).” Strategic news frames, “draw the audiences’ attention to the motivations of the people depicted.” Strategic coverage is focused “squarely on winning and losing” (ibid., p. 84). Neither definition allows a comparison of the topic or subject of the frame to the subject of another frame. Each study’s results stand-alone.

Looking to hunger and the media, the general lack of specificity has important implications. Using the recent hunger media frames as examples, a value frame that hunger is bad is the same as a value frame that a portion of SNAP is a scam. Both frames are value frames, and in Borah’s terms, they are both “consistent.” However, being labeled consistent does nothing to explain their relationship to each other and their relationship to policy in general. Are frames of the number of citizens requiring food assistance an “issue?” Would a stricter operationalization be “need” frames or “problem” frames? Because problem definition is a concept grounded in both the media (Entman, 2004, p. 5; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994) and policy literature (Anderson, 2015, p. 98; Dery, 2000, p. 40; Peters, 2013, p. 65), it seems reasonable to label the need for food assistance as a “problem.” The “scam” or “loophole” frames are frames concerning a specific anti-hunger policy, SNAP. Does this mean they are “policy” frames? However, they too can be labeled as “problem” frames. As in, there is a problem with SNAP. Labeling both the need and the scam as “problem” frames masks any uniqueness within each concept, need/hunger, and scam/SNAP.

This absence of uniqueness or rather the imprecision of their definition as problems makes it difficult if not impossible to analyze the relationship between the need/hunger and scam/SNAP frames. Chong and Druckman have noted the importance of analyzing frames in “competitive” environments (Chong & Druckman, 2007b). In the case of need and scam there certainly seems to be an inherent “competition.” Does the fact that the Agriculture Act of 2014 reduced spending demonstrate that the “problem” frame of need was too “weak” to counter the frame of a “problem” with a policy—SNAP? If so, why and how does the operationalization of both need and scam in this study as “problems” benefit the literature as a whole? It does not. Even more importantly, what *is* a “problem?” What *is* a “policy?”

Simply put media and policy scholars have not precisely defined what it is they are studying. Within both the media and public policy arenas, the definition of simultaneously generalizable terms is the exception, not the norm. The literature of both fields is criticized for terms being defined for each study, having little or no relevance to the rest of the literature (Borah, 2011, p. 249; Rosengren, 1993, p. 9; Schlager, 1997, p. 14). Currently, terms are of little value connecting literature within their domain let alone as a way to connect media and policy research. Almost twenty-five years ago, speaking of agenda-setting, Berkowitz noted that, " a common language does not exist for discussing key concepts related to news agendas," and called for "clarifying a muddle of relevant concepts (1992, p. 83)." With regards to the media-policy relationship, we are no closer today to having a common language, and our concepts are still muddled.

1.3.3 A Word about “Issues”

If there is one situation that exemplifies the muddled concepts in the media and policy literature, it is the use of the word “issue.” The examples given in Table 1, demonstrate the two major difficulties with the way the word is employed. First, “issue” can describe multiple levels of abstraction. It is used to describe “topics” as broad as unemployment, poverty, affirmative action (Iyengar, 1991, pp. 48-50); nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 13); obesity (Lawrence, 2004, p. 60); school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 933); or, immigration policy and federal funding for stem cell research (Lee et al., 2008, p. 702). Second, “issue” is often used in conjunction with the terms “policy” and “problem” that are themselves undefined in the literature.

Table 1. Examples of Different Levels of Abstraction Defined by the Word “Issue”

Level of Abstraction	Example
Topics requiring decisions.	“Issues are topics for which policy decisions must be made (including the decision to tertian the status quo). In general, issues revolve around propositions for governmental actions. Policy proposals can be vague, as in the assertion, “We should do something about guns” or specific as in: We need to do background checks on people who purchase handguns at gun shows.” The term issue often is used to describe any topic that captures public attention, such as presidential morality. We exclude such usage, however, because no specific policy is being proposed (Miller & Riechert, 2003, p. 110).”
Elements of policy	“Stories about public policy problems and solutions; descriptions of the substance of legislation or proposed legislation or other government programs; descriptions of politicians’ stands or statements on policy issues; stories about the general implications or impacts of legislation or proposed legislation for the public (Lawrence, 2000, p. 100)”

Level of Abstraction	Example
	“Substantive issues are those areas of controversy that have a major impact on society. Regulation of the economy, health-care reform, civil rights legislation, environmental protection, and homeland security are examples of substantive issues (Gerston, 2010, p. 9)
Relevant considerations	“Issue framing effects refer to situations where, by emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations, a speaker leads individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. For example, describing a hate group in terms of free speech as opposed to public safety causes people to base their rally opinions on free speech instead of public safety considerations. (Druckman, 2004, p. 672).”
Specific topic	“Issue-specific frames pertain to specific topics or news events, whereas generic frames are broadly applicable to a range of different news topics, some even over time and, potentially, in different cultural contexts (De Vreese, Peter, & Holli A. Semetko, 2001, p. 108).” Examples are: unemployment, poverty, affirmative action (Iyengar, 1991, pp. 48-50); welfare reform (Lawrence, 2000, p. 103) nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 13); obesity (Lawrence, 2004, p. 60); school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 933); or, immigration policy and federal funding for stem cell research (Lee et al., 2008, p. 702).
Problems, advocates, and consequences	“... <i>issue coverage</i> (Jamieson & Cappella, 1993) or <i>policy coverage</i> (Patterson, 1993), this reporting style or frame presents proposals for the problems, information about who is advocating which policy alternative, and consequences of the problems and proposals (Rhee, 1997, p. 30).”
Policy Problem	“... <i>issue frames</i> : alternative definitions, constructions, or depictions of a policy problem (Nelson & Oxley, 1999, p. 1041).”
Social problem	“... <i>Valence issue</i> is defined as a social problem which elicits “a single, strong, fairly uniform emotional response and does not have an adversarial quality” (Nelson, 1984: 27). When there is no question about whether a valence issue is good or bad, attention and debate surrounding the issue will primarily focus on appropriate solutions rather than on other

Level of Abstraction	Example
	characteristics of the problem itself (Liu, Vedlitz, & Alston, 2008, p. 384)."

If, after reviewing Table 1, the reader is confused, that is precisely the point. The word “issue” is used to describe so many things and at so many levels of abstraction that it *is* confusing. The literature recognizes this confused state, and there are examples of attempting to address it. McCombs and Ghanem highlight the lack of frame definitions that can “be generalized across many different situations” (2003, p. 79). They call for the literature to advance beyond “ad hoc” frames, “frames defined specifically for a single study with little or no attention to explicating either their basic characteristics or theoretical context” (ibid.). One of their recommended solutions is to use the Dewey Decimal catalog system to organize frames. Others contend that grouping frames under discrete categories, such as value and strategy frames¹⁵, allows for comparisons “across issue domains” (Lee et al., 2008). Lee found that value and strategy frames were predictive of people supporting more restrictive immigration policies. Support being operationalized as agreeing that, “policies toward illegal immigrants should be more restrictive;” and “policies regarding illegal immigration should be more restrictive” (ibid. , p. 716). He found that value and strategy frames were predictive of people supporting stem cell research where support was operationalized by “how strongly do you oppose or support embryonic stem cell research; how strongly do you oppose or support federal

¹⁵ “Value frames typically depict policy debates as clashes of moral principles or basic values, with parties to the conflict countering each other on the basis of a particular set of values. . . . A strategy frame organizes a policy conflict as a clash of political interests and competing strategies (Lawrence, 2000), typically highlighting political machinations of the contending parties, related to their objectives, strategies, and tactics (Lee et al., 2008, pp. 700-701).

funding for embryonic stem cell research; and I support the creation of new stem-cell lines for embryonic stem cell research” (ibid.). Lee’s results appear consistent across the *issues* of immigration and stem cell research. However, the operationalizations are distinctly different. Operationalizations of support of immigration relate to policies. Only one of the operationalizations of stem cell research relate to policy--federal funding for embryonic stem cell research. The other two relate to research, not necessarily a distinct policy. Because the operationalizations are not consistently defined, all that can be said is the results are consistent across “issues” and not at the policy or elements of policy level. If the operationalization of stem cell support had been limited to how strongly one supports federal funding for stem cell research, then the results would be comparing policy to policy.¹⁶ However, if the operationalizations were limited to “support of stem cell research” it is unclear if that is equivalent to Merolla’s “support for the legalization of illegal immigrants” (2013, p. 789). One concept deals with research another policy or legislation, but both can be considered “issues.” This lack of clarity is a major reason for our “muddled concepts” (Berkowitz, 1992, p. 82).

Our topic of interest presents an even clearer picture of the difficulties caused by a lack of definitions. If our subject frames of hunger/need and scam/SNAP are both “issues,” what distinguishes them? If hunger/need is a “problem” and scam/SNAP is a “policy,” what is a problem¹⁷ or policy? How do they relate to one another? The current

¹⁶ For the moment, let’s set aside the fact that “... there is no precise and universal definition of public policy, nor is it likely that such a definition will be conceived in the near future” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 4)

¹⁷ Gerston notes that simply “the word problem could be an invitation to semantic confusion” (2010, p. 22)

use of the term “issue” is comparable to using the term “bird” to describe all avian creatures without defining any grouping of characteristics such as wings, beaks, the ability to fly, and so forth. Bird would also be attached to other words such as bird flu (problem), or have a relation to elements such as the endangered species list (policy). How can we find Popper’s black swan if we have not even defined what a swan looks like (Popper, 1985, p. 107)? The answer is that for the present we cannot. “The basic point here is that giving some object, or idea, a name is not a definition of a concept that will carry its meaning into other contexts” (Chaffee, 1991, p. 25), especially when the name—issue—is so broad as to encompass almost anything.

This then is the challenge we face: to “determine what is going on” when tackling a project that spans two separate disciplines (media and policy) and where there is no common lexicon. If the policy literature cannot define “policy,” how can one study the media-policy relationship? Under such conditions, how can we understand what is being studied? How can the results relate to anything else? How is one to answer the call to conduct inter-disciplinary research made by Bennett and Entman (2001, p. 479) and begin the communication between media and policy studies called for by Wolfe, Jones, and Baumgartner (2013)? Given the importance of anti-hunger policy, it is a challenge worth accepting. Given the importance of policy to the public in general, it is a dialog worth beginning. The difficulties should not stop us from attempting to understand what is currently happening within the media/anti-hunger relationship. Rather, they point to the work necessary to find out “what is really going on” within the media/anti-hunger relationship and by extension the media-public policy relationship.

Describing the work necessary will occupy the remainder of this paper, but the beginning steps are provided below as a means of broadly sketching out the territory to be covered and the key issues to be addressed. It is acknowledged that the following discussion contains some material that may appear out of place in an introduction, being more suited to a literature review or detail concepts chapter. It is presented here with the intent of providing reference points for understanding the more detailed discussions that will follow later.

1.4 Meeting the Challenge

Analyzing the relationship between the two concepts, media and policy requires two major steps. The first is to establish a starting point, selecting a theory to ground or keep us anchored while exploring the media and policy literature. The second step is to tackle the lack of commonly defined terms. The starting point is the more straightforward of the steps. This project will use the theory of framing as our focal point for the exploration of the media-public policy relationship because framing has a basis in both the media and public policy literature (Brewer & Gross, 2010, p. 159; Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Entman, 2007). Addressing the definition of terms is more complicated. The media-public policy relationship can be viewed as the intersection of two fields or spheres. Of all the approaches one might take to define terms and organize frames, one that seems sensible is to first determine which field in the media-public policy relationship currently offers the most structure, and then assess how that structure might facilitate the categorization of frames. Fortunately, the nature of public policy clearly points to the policy field as the best source for terms. The policy process provides a structure and the activities, products and consequences of that process provide the

topics. It is widely accepted that public policy is generated within a process (Smith & Larimer, 2009, pp. 29-36). This process has an inherent structure or stages and each element is related to the other (Kraft & Furlong, 2015, pp. 85-101; Smith & Larimer, 2009). While there is no universal agreement on the definitions of the stages of the process, there is at least a process with a generally defined structure of problem definition; agenda setting; policy formulation; policy legitimization; policy implementation; and policy evaluation (Rushefsky, 2013, p. 5). This structure provides a guide to locating the elements that comprise the concept of policy.

1.4.1 Theoretical Anchor---Framing

The media-public policy relationship is too complex to tackle without first selecting a starting point that will ground the research. Such a starting point is necessary to keep the research focused and to avoid the trap of flitting from one theoretical domain to another. The beginning point for this project is the selection of media framing as the theoretical base of the media side of the equation. In the simplest terms, this theory posits that media messages, especially news, are, or can be “framed,” and that the frame has an effect on the recipient. There are several definitions of frames,¹⁸ but the one that will be used for our purposes is that a frame is “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Tankard, 2003, p. 100). Framing is not without its critics. Borah cites a “conceptual fuzziness (Borah, 2011, p. 256)” and Scheufele and Iyengar caution against “conceptual confusion” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1). Yet,

¹⁸ See Appendix E for sample definitions. Also see (Borah, 2011; Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Entman, 1993; Guber & Bosso, 2012; Lawrence, 2010; Scheufele, 1999) for a further detailed discussion of various framing definitions.

the notion of “framing” and its relationship to public policy is generally accepted in both the media and public policy literature (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 44; Callaghan & Schnell, 2005b, p. xi; Entman, 1993, p. 52; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143; Graber, 2010, pp. 140-141; Kahneman, 2011, p. 370; Lewis & Reese, 2009, p. 85; Wolfe et al., 2013). It is also a well-studied concept. Scheufele and Iyengar found that in just two journals, *Political Communication* and *Journal of Communication*, there were a “total of thirty-three papers on framing between 1991 and 2000, and eighty-six between 2001 and 2010” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1). Framing will be discussed in much more detail in chapters two and three of this paper. For now, it is enough that its acceptance and large body of literature make it suitable as our anchor, despite the concerns noted by some scholars.

1.4.2 Conceptualizing Policy Categories

With our grounding point established, the next step is to define what we are studying. Unit definition, defining what is being studied is the “starting point of explication” (Chaffee, 1991, pp. 16-17). Defining the unit of analysis is answering the question, “For what class of entities does this concept vary? When the unit of analysis changes from one concept to another in the same theoretical structure, theory testing becomes a very tricky business” (Chaffee, 1996, pp. 25-26). In our case, it is especially tricky because we must define a class of entities that comprise how policy is understood today in an environment where there are no generally accepted definitions. To begin the task, Sabatier’s comments on the difficulty of building theories of public policy are useful. He pointed out that when dealing with complexity, “An alternative strategy is science. Its fundamental ontological assumption is that a small set of critical relationships

underlies the bewildering complexity of a phenomena” (P. Sabatier, 2007b, p. 5).

Considering this, perhaps the goal is not to create “definitions,” but rather to consolidate the existing definitions into meaningful categories. To take the “complexity” of all the definitions in the literature and group them into categories that capture the “small set of critical relationships.” The objective then is to categorize existing definitions of policy into a conceptual framework that facilitates our understanding of the media-public policy relationship. Categorization, the carving up of “the universe into comprehensive, mutually exclusive” categories, is a useful process for both concept development (Gerring, 1999, p. 381), and the organization of research data (Chaffee, 1991, p. 34).

Think of the policy process as a continuum of actions.¹⁹ A review of the literature reveals that at various points in the continuum scholars have identified specific elements that they feel relate to public policy, such as problem (Kraft & Furlong, 2015, p. 500); policy and policy choice (Peters, 2013, p. 4) policy goal (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, pp. 82-84); and policy tools (Salamon, 2002, p. 29).²⁰ These key elements, with additional elements to be discussed later, represent the set of entities from which the topics or subjects of news media frames are generated. The relationship between these elements is a function of their relationship to the general stages of the public policy process.

Problems are usually identified before policies are chosen, and there cannot be a policy

¹⁹ It is understood that “Policy scholars have long argued that the “stages” model of the policy process is not a useful model for generating testable hypothesis about the policy-making (Nakamura, 1987; Sabatier, 1988, 1991). But scholars still find the stages as useful “sites” for the study of important elements of the policy process from problem recognition through implementation (Birkland & DeYoung, 2013, p. 175), and that is the context in which the process is viewed in this paper.

²⁰ This list is only representative, a full list is given in Chapter 2.

goal without a policy. There may be goals, but they are not policy goals until a policy is specified and so forth.

This project proposes that the definitions of the policy elements can be organized into the following categories: *problem*, *policy*, *policy tool*, *policy goal* and *policy end*. These categories will meet Chaffee's criteria of being "collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive" (Chaffee, 1991, p. 34). These categories will also represent an acceptable "trade-off"²¹ between the demands of Gerring's eight criteria for "conceptual goodness. . . familiarity, resonance, parsimony, coherence, differentiation, depth, theoretical utility, and field utility" (Gerring, 1999, p. 367). Once so organized, they will form categories of media frames that will allow for analyses that distinguish between elements of the anti-hunger policy process in this study and could be useful in reordering the data previously collected in past studies.

For example, the literature contains several definitions of the element "problem." It is a condition or situation that people have "come to believe they should do something about" (Adler & Wilkerson, 2012, p. 5; Kingdon, 1995, p. 109). Something that can be resolved; a determination that a condition or situation is a problem is based on the desire to do something, not that those identifying the problem have a solution²² (Kingdon, 1995, p. 109). The problem may refer "to the existence of an unsatisfactory set of conditions for which relief is sought. . .from the government (Kraft & Furlong, 2015, p.

²¹ Gerring acknowledges that it is unlikely that any concept could fulfill all eight requirements. Instead, a "good concept" does not represent a ". . . single 'best' solution, but rather a range of more-or-less acceptable alternatives" (Gerring, 1999, p. 367).

²² Kingdon notes that his definition differs from Wildavsky who says "a difficulty is a problem only if something can be done about it" (Wildavsky, 1979, p. 42). Wildavsky does not consider that people may need to designate something a problem before they are motivated to determine if something can be done. The condition is a problem regardless of how long they search for a solution.

500).” It is something people “can realistically try to solve” (Birkland, 2011, p. 109); or “political issues. . .defined in a way that government can do something about them with the kinds of tools it has on hand. . . .They must be framed in a way that they are perceived as bad situations and moral wrongs that government can and should fix” (Gamble & Stone, 2006, p. 95). These definitions could be merged to categorize the concept of a problem as a condition that some people believe the government should do something about regardless of whether or not they or others have a solution to propose. The above is not a complete definition of the problem category, but it demonstrates the direction that this project will follow of taking existing definitions and organizing them into categories.

1.4.3 Refining the Definition of the Media-Public Policy Relationship

The result of the categorization of the elements of policy is the ability to refine our conceptualization of the media-public policy relationship. No longer is the relationship between the media frames and policy; it is a relationship between the media and the different discrete elements of policy: problem, policy, policy tool, policy goal and policy end. This is important because it allows us to articulate a more refined description of what it means for the media “informing” the public on policy. How well journalists inform the public can be operationalized as how accurately they link the different elements of the policy sphere (problem, policy, policy tool, policy goal and policy end). Is the problem linked to the correct policy, policy tool, policy goal, and policy end? Is the policy tool linked to the correct policy goal and so forth? It also could provide a tool for journalists to evaluate the information provided by sources. Is the

source's problem statement accurately linked to the correct element of the public policy sphere and so forth?

For example, between 2007 and 2011, the number of people receiving SNAP benefits rose from 26.3 million to 44.7 million, and the cost increased from 33.1 to 75.6 billion dollars. Republican legislators argued that the rise was due to States changing eligibility requirements (O'Keefe, 2013), the implication being that people who were previously ineligible for benefits now could obtain them. Supporters of SNAP argued that unemployment caused by the 2008 economic crisis and not eligibility changes was responsible for the surge in participation (Food Research Action Center, 2012), in other words, that the eligibility limits had not fallen, but that more people had lower incomes. Academic papers mirrored these competing arguments. Mulligan noted that "[m]illions of households received safety net benefits in 2010 that would not have been eligible for benefits in 2007 even if their circumstances had been the same the two years, because the rules for receiving safety net benefits had changed" (Mulligan, 2012, p. 28, cited in Ganong 2013). Ganong and Liebman challenged Mulligan's findings and concluded that, "changes in local unemployment can explain 73 percent the increase in enrollment during the Great Recession" (Ganong & Liebman, 2013, p. 1).²³ Ten percent of the increase resulted from temporary rule changes triggered by high unemployment and only eight

²³ For ease of understanding, I convert the increase Ganong, Liebman and Mulligan analyze into the actual number of people receiving benefits. Ganong, Liebman and Mulligan actually analyzed the increase in the "up-take rate" for SNAP. The up-take rate is the percentage of people eligible for a program who actually receive benefits. At the beginning of 2007, the SNAP up-take rate was 69% by the end of 2011 it was 87%. This is a 20% increase (as rounded up by Ganong and Liebman). Rather than saying that 14.6% of the up-take rate increase was due to unemployment, I state that 73% of the increase in participants from 26.3 million to 44.7 million is due to unemployment. The 18.4 million recipient increase is equivalent to the 20% increase in the up-take rate.

percent of the changes were the result of “permanent State-level policy expansions” (ibid.).

Here is an example where clearly identifying the elements of public policy can assist in determining if the public is being “informed.” Without the benefit of the categories proposed by this project, high cost, the change in eligibility and unemployment frames can all be labeled “problems.” Again, as with the scam and need frames discussed earlier, labeling all the frames problems does nothing to explicate the relationship between the three frames and their relationship to any subsequent changes in SNAP. However, high cost is intrinsically tied to the policy tool SNAP and so are eligibility requirements. Unemployment is not intrinsically tied to SNAP because it can exist independent of whether or not SNAP exists. If both the high cost and eligibility frames are identified as *policy tool problem* frames and unemployment is defined as a *problem* frame their relationship can be clarified. The eligibility frame implies that a change must be made to the policy tool SNAP because it is a policy tool problem frame. The high cost frame has the same implication. Eligibility should be rolled back to the previous requirements. Reducing the cost of SNAP is necessary. The connection between the unemployment problem frame and the policy tool SNAP is not as precise. It may seem that it is to some, i.e. high unemployment is the reason for the high cost. However, unemployment as a problem stands alone. The connection to the policy tool SNAP has to be articulated in a way that cost and eligibility do not. Cost and eligibility are problems of the policy tool SNAP, unemployment is not. Ganong et al. made the connection by demonstrating that the rise in SNAP participation was the result of SNAPs “built-in automatic stabilizer features operating as usual in the midst of a very severe

recession” (Ganong & Liebman, 2013, p. 29). SNAP participation and consequently cost is *intended, expected* to rise when economic conditions are unstable, such as during periods of high unemployment during a recession. The media’s response to the Republican frames of eligibility and cost should have been to question whether these frames had a relationship to the problem frame of unemployment and how all three related to the policy tool SNAP.

The value of these categorizations can be seen in the type of hypothesis that can be developed. One might be that policy tool problem frames precede changes in the policy tool that address the policy tool problem. Is this what happened in 2014? The scam frame preceded changes in SNAP related to Heat and Eat. Similarly, we can hypothesize that eligibility and high cost frames will precede changes to SNAP eligibility requirements. Standing alone the analysis of these hypotheses reveal something about media frames and policy tools. However, if we also study whether or not problem frames were present in the media at the same time as the policy tool problem frames we can expand our analysis. Did the media ignore problem frames? Was the relationship between the problem frame and policy tool problem frame articulated? Republican legislators dismissed a link between problem--unemployment--and SNAP, the policy tool. Was the unemployment frame present in the media and did it reflect Ganong and Liberman’s analysis that it was related to the rise in participation? If both problem and policy tool problem frames exist simultaneously and the policy tool is changed to address the policy tool problem, this raises some interesting and important questions. Do policy tool problem frames outweigh problem frames? Are there just the two frames present? Alternatively, are there other frames related to policy, policy goals and policy ends

appearing simultaneously in the media? If so, which ones? Did they relate to the problem or the policy tool problem? Whatever the answers, by using the categories that are defined in this project we at least have the ability to ask the questions. It is in the articulation of these connections that the journalists inform us, “makes the unseen visible” (Patterson, 2013, p. 9).

The grouping of frames into these categorizations organizes their relationship into the following question: will the rollback of eligibility address the problem of more people requiring SNAP benefits because of unemployment? This is similar to the question that can be posed regarding the scam and the need frames. Will the changes in the Low Income Energy Assistance Program (aka Heat and Eat) address the problem of people requiring SNAP benefits?

1.5 Plan of This Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. After this introductory chapter, the second chapter will present an overview of the media and policy literature. It will begin with a brief description of the state of the media and policy literature to provide a perspective on the advantages and challenges of bridging the two disciplines. Framing, punctuated equilibrium and the social construction theories are discussed as the foundations of the project’s analysis. The third chapter will provide an in-depth discussion of the key concepts related to this project. It will discuss how the concept of policy is operationalized within the public policy literature and problems posed by a lack of simultaneously generalizable operationalizations in both the framing and public policy literature. It will be argued that the current gap in the literature can be addressed by: one, adopting the accepted practice of using the “topic” of news stories to define frames; and

two, creating “collectively exhaustive” and “mutually exclusive” (Chaffee, 1991, p. 34) topics from the public policy literature. It will show how these categories--*problem, policy, policy tool, policy objective* and *policy end*—are simultaneously generalizable for this and future studies. It will demonstrate how these categories allow for a more refined evaluation of the media’s performance in “informing” the public. It will give examples to show how the categories are useful in addressing the “uniqueness” problem identified by Borah and others, by providing a means to reorganize the results of past research (Borah, 2011; Hertog & McLeod, 2001). The chapter will end with a brief history of anti-hunger policy in America. The fourth chapter describe the research questions and methods employed in the project. The fifth chapter will present the data analysis and findings and the sixth chapter will present the conclusions.

A final note on the intent of this paper to present a new perspective on defining the central element of the media-policy relationship—policy. Levy and Gurevitch cautioned against new approaches to every problem. As they noted:

The multiplicity of approaches has not been an unalloyed boon for the field [media studies]. Some aspects of these approaches give us pause. One of the costs of multiple approaches, for example, is the introduction into the literature of yet more layers or obscure jargon comprehensible to barriers against comprehension, but perhaps more important, the exclusionary consequences of this trend. It has made too much of writing inaccessible to ourselves, and it threatens to make much of media studies equally inaccessible to discussions in the public forum (Levy & Gurevitch, 1994, p. 10).

It is not the intent of this paper to add one more “approach” to studying the media-public policy relationship. Rather, this paper is intended to provide an approach whose generalizable definitions (jargon) will remove rather than add new barriers to

“comprehension,” and make our media literature more accessible to media and policy scholars.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Earlier it was noted that a meaningful study of the media-policy relationship requires positioning a theory of one sphere of the relationship within the other. It was also stated that it is best if one theory is selected as a grounding or anchor point that will allow one to construct a bridge between the media and policy spheres. The theory of framing was identified as such a bridge because of its presence in both media and policy literature. By way of providing an overview to understand the rationale behind these decisions this literature review will take a step back and present: a brief discussion of the state of the media policy literature and the challenges faced in bridging the two spheres; and, a review of punctuated equilibrium, social construction theory and, framing literature.

2.1 The State of Media and Policy Literature

A brief look at the state of the media and policy literature highlights the necessity of choosing one theory or concept as a focus to organize the material available and the need for clearly defined units of analysis. On the media side of the relationship, there is an almost overwhelming amount of material. Looking at just three journals, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (JMCQ)*, *Journal of Communication (JOC)*, and *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media (JOBEM)*, from 1956 to 2000, Bryant and Miron identified 600 theories (including models) and scientific paradigms²⁴ that were utilized in articles (Bryant & Miron, 2004, p. 671). Littlejohn and Foss identify 117 theories of communication (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). DeFleur discusses 44 theories,

²⁴ Bryant and Miron do not list all 600, they only list the 26 that were cited in more than 10 articles (Bryant & Miron, 2004, p. 673).

models or constructs (DeFleur, 2010). Baran and Davis identify 87 (Baran & Davis, 2006). These include critical theory, gate keeping, knowledge gap, and mass society theory. Limiting the focus to just “media effects” does little to narrow the list of theories when you consider that Bryant and Oliver discuss over 74 theories, hypotheses or constructs that relate to just media effects, including agenda setting and framing (Bryant & Oliver, 2009). Adding to the challenge of reviewing this large volume of literature is that fact that it is far from organized or settled. It has been called “sometimes contradictory” and in a state of “ferment (Baran & Davis, 2006; Levy & Gurevitch, 1994).” Some researchers bemoan the shift to “non-quantitative” research and call for more focus, and others challenge the notion that there can be “more homogeneity” in research (Baran & Davis, 2006, pp. 359-360).

At first glance, the literature of the policy field seems less challenging because it has fewer theories or constructs. In “Theories of the Policy Process” (2007) Sabatier identifies seven major theories.²⁵ Since Sabatier’s work was published only one new theory or model of the process has evolved, the Thermostatic Model (Soroka & Wlezien, 2010), which makes a total of eight. However, as Schlager pointed out, the policy literature is no more settled or organized than the media literature. He described it as:

Mountain islands of theoretical structure, intermingled with, and occasionally attached together by foothills of shared methods and concepts, and empirical work all of which is surrounded by oceans of descriptive work not attached to any mountain of theory (Schlager, 1997, p. 14).

²⁵ The seven are: Institutional Rational Choice; Multiple-Streams Model; Social Construction; Punctuated Equilibrium; Advocacy Coalition Framework; Policy Network Analysis; and, Innovation and Diffusion Model (P. Sabatier, 2007b, pp. 4-9). For a comparison of each see Schlager (Schlager, 2007, pp. 293-320).

Compounding the theoretical jumble is the complexity of the public policy process itself. Sabatier's description of the public policy process highlights some of the characteristics that make it difficult to attempt to connect it to another field such as mass media (P. Sabatier, 2007b, pp. 3-4):

1. There are normally hundreds of actors . . . Involved in one or more aspects of the process.
2. This process usually involves time spans of a decade or more . . .
3. In any given policy domain. . .there are normally dozens of different programs involving multiple levels of government that are operating or are being proposed for operation. . . .Since these programs deal with interrelated subjects and involve many of the same actors, many scholars would argue that the appropriate unit-of-analysis should be the policy subsystem or domain, rather than a specific governmental program (Hjern & Porter, 1981; Ostrom, 1983; Rhodes, 1988; Sabatier, 1986).
4. Understanding the policy process requires attention to the role that debates (such as hearings, litigation and proposed rules, ed.) play in the overall process.
5. Most disputes involve deeply held values/interests, large amounts of money and at some point, authoritative coercion. Given these stakes, policy disputes seldom resemble polite debates. Instead, most actors face enormous temptations to present evidence selectively, to misrepresent the position of their opponent, to coerce and discredit opponents, and generally to distort the situation to their advantage (Moe, 1990a, 1990b; Riker, 1986; Schlager, 1995)

All these factors mean that public policy is developed in a multi-year process, involving hundreds of actors operating in numerous venues such as legislative hearings, litigation, and administrative hearings. All of it is taking place in an environment where differing parties may consciously distort evidence, their position and that of their opponents. In short, both the media and the public policy sides of the media-public policy relationship are complex. Studying it requires bridging two bodies of literature that are neither organized nor stable and finding a way to join them to analyze at least

some aspect of the relationship between their different elements. Framing is a suitable concept to employ as a bridge.

Before selecting which policy, theory or theories form the basis of our analysis it is necessary to appreciate that not all public policies are the same. They do not follow the same path from proposal to implementation, evaluation and modification. For example, U.S. foreign policies as studied by media scholars Bosso, Entman, Linksy and Soroka are significantly different from domestic policies such as SNAP in important ways (Bosso, 1989; Entman, 2004; Linsky, 1986; Soroka, 2003, p. 44). Under the War Powers Resolution of 1973 (commonly called the War Powers Act), the President of the United States makes the decision to intervene in Somalia, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Libya and not intervene in Rwanda or Syria. The President is, in Oppenheimer's terms the primary "veto player" (Oppenheimer, 2012) involved in the decision to implement a "policy." Other policy areas such as global warming/climate change, behavioral health policies on alcohol consumption, smoking and population control are different still. Often the media studies of these policies relate to informational campaigns to change or encourage specific behaviors and not the formation and implementation of a specific government policy via legislation enacted by Congress (Cleland, 2009; Dorfman, 2003; Palmgreen & Donohew, 2006; Randolph & Viswanath, 2004; Sampei & Aoyagi-Usui, 2009; Soroka & Lim, 2003; Wills et al., 2010). In contrast, the recently passed SNAP legislation (the Agriculture Act of 2014) was the result of numerous subcommittee, committee hearings, debates, lobbying, votes, amendments, legislation and finally a House and Senate Conference all taking place over the course of three years and finally requiring the votes of a majority of members in the House and Senate and signature by the President.

Because of the range of activities involved, the study of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) offers the best opportunity to examine the full media-public policy relationship.

2.2 Public Policy Theory

A brief review of policy theory makes it clear that before selecting a theory, it is first necessary to choose among certain general directions or schools of thought that form the basis of public policy theory in general. The first choice is between public policy as an essentially stable entity where change occurs incrementally through minor changes; or, public policy as an “entity in a state of constant tension created by positive and negative feedback forces where change can be abrupt (punctuations), significant and often larger than expected even by its proponents” (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012, p. 1). The second choice relates to the nature of public policy itself: is it the “culminating output of a political process;” or is it as policy feedback scholars propose, an entity that changes “the basic features of the political landscape” (Easton, 1953; cited in Soss & Schram, 2007, p. 113)?²⁶ This project adopts the position that public policy is: one, dynamic, subject to significant non-incremental changes or punctuations; and two, not an end in itself, but one stage in a continual process of problem definition, policy implementation and amendment where today’s policy affects the politics that make tomorrow’s policies that in turn affect future politics and so forth.

²⁶ See also the discussion of Lowi, Pierson, and Truman in Ingram, Schneider and deLeon (Ingram, Schneider, & deLeon, 2007, p. 95; Lowi, 1979; Pierson, 1993; Schneider & Ingram, 1997; Truman, 1951).

These descriptions of policy can help to narrow our choice of public policy theory, but the difficulty of finding a theory that incorporates the media remains. Mirroring the lack of public policy theory on the media side of the relationship, no public policy theory positions a media theory as a critical element in their theory.²⁷ While several mention the media, only four, Advocacy Coalition Framework, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, Social Construction Framework, and the Thermostatic Model (Ingram et al., 2007; P. A. Sabatier, 2007; Soroka & Wlezien, 2010) explicitly position the media or a media theory as significant factor within the theory. Of these four, two, Punctuated Equilibrium and Social Construction Framework come the closest to having conceptual foundations that allow for the integration of media theory. Punctuated Equilibrium clearly incorporates the media theory of agenda setting as originally identified by McCombs and Shaw (1972). Punctuated Equilibrium states that as “. . . an issue surges onto the media agenda, so does it lurch onto the agenda of federal and state agencies that had previously not been concerned with it” (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 125). There is even an entire chapter devoted to the *Dynamics of Media Attention* in Baumgartner and Jones major work on Punctuated Equilibrium (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, pp. 103-145). But, just selecting Punctuated Equilibrium and doing a study of agenda-setting as it relates to anti-hunger policy, would do little to explicate why three major newspapers could editorialize that nutrition aid should be reduced when the need has increased dramatically. For one thing, the SNAP program (nee food stamps) is part

²⁷ A simple example of the lack of integration of the media is seen in the fact that in volume of public policy theory edited by Sabatier, the media is not of sufficient importance to rate a single mention in the index (P. A. Sabatier, 2007).

of legislation commonly known as the “Farm Bill,”²⁸ which has to be re-authorized every five years instead of annually as with most other appropriations bills. This means that there can be significant periods of time where SNAP is not on the media agenda because there is no action required or anticipated, except toward the end of each five-year cycle.

There is another element that needs to be analyzed beyond whether or not SNAP is on the agenda. Initially, Punctuated Equilibrium viewed the media as being critical in “shifting attention,” but it has evolved to place the most emphasis on the framing of an issue as being critical to a change in policy (Baumgartner, De Boef, & Boydston, 2008, p. 223). This mirrors a similar shift in media agenda setting theory, which began with an emphasis on just the appearance of an item on the agenda (McCombs, 1981; McCombs & Shaw, 1972), to incorporating framing as the second level of agenda setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Weaver, 2007). For our purposes, Punctuated Equilibrium can serve as at least one of the theories of public policy used in this project. The reason that it can’t be the only theory is that while it incorporates the notion of frames, it does little to analyze how frames are defined and why they may change. Taking a closer look at Punctuated Equilibrium reveals why it is part of our media-public policy theory mix and points to the companion public policy theory that will be used in this project—the Social Construction Framework.

²⁸ The Agriculture Act of 2014, reauthorized and made appropriations for programs that were last authorized in the Food, Conservation and Energy Act of 2008. Despite their different names, they are both commonly referred to as the “farm bill” (i.e., 2008 farm bill, 2014 farm bill). They are the latest of a succession of farm bills that began with the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1933.

Before Punctuated Equilibrium theory, the policy process was predominately viewed as one where:

Decision making was thought of as incremental, subsystems seemed eternal, and the political order was stable. Minor adjustments from the status quo were achieved via heuristic rules worked out among the participants (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012, p. 1 citing ; Lindblom, 1959; Wildavsky, 1988; Wildavsky, 1975).

In contrast, Punctuated Equilibrium posits that policy change can be abrupt, non-incremental (in their terms “disjoint”) and can occur not just through elections but on a policy-by-policy basis (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012, pp. 2-3). “Public policy is a dynamic system characterized by a constant state of tension in which the appearance of stability is an equilibria created by the self-correcting mechanisms of negative and positive feedback processes” (Worsham & Stores, 2012, p. 170). Negative feedback is defined as those forces that retard change or maintain the status-quo (Jones 2005 9-10).

They include:

Standard operating procedures in organizations, cultural norms, and facets of human cognitive architectures provide stability of behavior in a complex world. In politics, ideology and group identifications provide strong and stable guides to behavior in complex circumstances. In politics, a second source of friction exists: institutional rules that constrain policy action. In the United States, the national government can enact policies only when supermajorities are assembled. In parliamentary democracies, especially ones with proportional electoral systems, action may be constrained by multiparty governing coalitions (Jones & Baumgartner, 2012, p. 8).

The key to the nature of negative feedback is that it “. . . Reacts to counterbalance, rather than reinforce, any changes coming in from the environment. They induce equilibrium and stability” (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 9). From the anti-hunger advocates’ perspective, negative feedback is the force in the policy system that will “push back” against their attempts to introduce a new program or expand an existing one.

Positive Feedback on the other hand comes from outside the system and “reinforces rather than counter balances a trend” (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 13). Positive feedback processes are “the explosive properties of the political system that occasionally create major disruptions, reorganizations, and reconfigurations of the institutions of political life” (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 3). Within this world where negative and positive forces are in constant friction, the “. . . Media play an integral role in the policy process by directing attention alternately toward different aspects [frames, ed.] of the same issues over time and by shifting attention from one issue to another [agenda setting, ed.]” (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, p. 103).

The evolution of Punctuated Equilibrium to include framing as an element in the policy process began with its treatment of information. Information was viewed as being “critical to all decision making, ” and prioritization of what problems to deal with was a crucial step in policy development (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Given the sheer volume of information available coupled with decision makers’ finite capacity to attend to the information, (they can’t pay attention to everything) any source of information, such as the media that shifted attention is important (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993, p. 104; Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 274). But as Punctuated Equilibrium matured it began to give a more nuanced description of information, especially as it relates to the media. Information is “interpreted,” given “attributes” (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 14), and has a “tone” that contributes to a policy’s “image” (Baumgartner et al., 2008, p. 244; Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 25; Jones & Baumgartner, 2005, p. 5). At first, Punctuated Equilibrium used the terms “attributes,” “tone,” “image,” and “topic” interchangeably. Later Baumgartner, et al. made the clear connection between these

elements and what in media theory are called “frames” (Baumgartner et al., 2008). Although their definition of “framing,” as “defining an issue along a particular dimension” (Baumgartner et al., 2008, p. 4) is not as robust as the “frame” defined by Gamson and Modigliani, “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. . . The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143); the concepts are equivalent and give a clear point of intersection between Punctuated Equilibrium as a theory of public policy and a theory of the media, more specifically a theory of media effects—framing.

In summary, Punctuated Equilibrium posits a policy universe where changes in policy are: abrupt; occur in reaction to outside forces labeled positive feedback; changes are significant, not incremental; changes tend to be overreactions to the feedback received; changes are bi-directional, i.e. can be an increase or decrease in a program’s scope and funding; and there is a correlation between the media tone or the frame of an issue subsequent policy change. The abruptness or punctuation of policy is significant, because if the change is large, not incremental, then anything that precipitates or influences changes such as frames by definition have a large effect. But, as noted earlier, Punctuated Equilibrium does not explore why frames come into existence, what makes a frame effective, and why frames change. The Social Construction Framework offers the better opportunity to explore these questions.

Social Constructions relate to what Ingram & Schneider call “target populations,” the persons or groups whose “behavior and well-being are affected by the policy” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334), or “groups chosen to receive the benefits and

burdens through the various elements of policy design” (Ingram et al., 2007, p. 97).

Social constructions are the “cultural characterizations or popular images” of these “target populations” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334). These “characterizations are normative and evaluative, portraying groups in positive or negative terms through symbolic language, metaphors, and stories” (Edelman, 1988; Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334).

Social Construction Framework orients the possible constructions of populations along two dimensions; their political power, strong or weak, and whether or not the construction is positive or negative. The poor are weak in political power, but if they are viewed positively, such as children, widows, or disabled, they are thought of positively as “dependents.” If they viewed negatively such as drug addicts and criminals, they are “potential outliers.”²⁹ The expectation is that public policies aid “dependents” and either refuse to aid or penalize “potential outliers” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 336).

Because Social Construction Framework proposes that public policies are directed at target populations, the construction of the target populations precedes the public policy.

They may also be the impetus for changes in existing policy.³⁰ There is a cyclical process of politics affecting policy, affecting politics, affecting policy and so forth, with constructions preceding the policy.

²⁹ Schneider and Ingram’s use the term “deviants” for this category, which is problematic. They include gays in this category. Because of the extremely negative connotation of that word, especially in conjunction with sexual orientation, this project will employ the term “potential outliers,” which it is believed is consistent with Schneider and Ingram’s original intent.

³⁰ See Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon for a list of 49 Social Construction Framework studies on the relationship between constructions and public policy (Ingram et al., 2007, pp. 114-117).

At present, the intersection of social constructions and frames cannot be defined with surgical precision because frames are not individual stand-alone entities. As Gamson notes, there are “frames within frames, within frames” (Gamson, 2003, p. x). For example, the construction of a population as “deserving” may derive from the population being framed as “responsible” or “hardworking.” Sometimes these frames are used independently, as in the population is hard working or in combination, as in the population is deserving because they are hardworking and responsible. The essential points at this stage of outlining our project are that constructions are a part of the policy process and they matter (Anglund, 1998, pp. 30-31; DiAlto, 2005, p. 88; Wilson, 2000, p. 263).

2.3 Framing Theory

Framing is our theory of choice, but it is not without its critics. Borah cites a “conceptual fuzziness (Borah, 2011, p. 256)” and Scheufele and Iyengar caution against “conceptual confusion” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1). Yet, the notion of “framing” and its relationship to public policy is generally accepted in both the media and public policy literature (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 44; Callaghan & Schnell, 2005b, p. xi; Entman, 1993, p. 52; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143; Graber, 2010, pp. 140-141; Kahneman, 2011, p. 370; Lewis & Reese, 2009, p. 85; Wolfe et al., 2013). It is also a well-studied concept. Bryant and Miron’s review of six journals³¹ between 2000 and 2004, found that framing was the most utilized theory in the studies presented (18% of all studies) (Bryant & Miron, 2004, pp. 663, 695). As noted earlier, Iyengar and Scheufele

³¹ *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (JMCQ), *Journal of Communication* (JOC), and *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* (JOBEM) *Communication Research* (CR), *Mass Communication & Society* (MCS), and *Media Psychology* (MP).

found that the number of framing articles in “Political Communication” and the “Journal of Communication” rose from 33 between 1991 and 2000 to 86 from 2001 to 2010 (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012). The concept has been described in various ways. “Framing implies identifying some items as facts and not others” (Tuchman, 1979, p. 1066) that “give the story a spin” (Neuman, 1992, p. 120). Iyengar, citing Chong & Druckman, Gross and D’Ambrosio, Iyengar and Simon, Kim, Scheufele and Shanahan, and Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, state that “frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way” (Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Entman, 2010, p. 336; Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Kim, Scheufele, & Shanahan, 2002; Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). Frames are “the selection, organization, and emphasis of certain aspects of reality, to the exclusion of others” (De Vreese et al., 2001, p. 108). Entman defines framing as “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution. Fully developed frames typically perform four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment and remedy promotion” (Entman, 2004, p. 5; 2010, p. 336). As these frames relate to public policy, they may contain or be “characterizations or popular images” of “target populations” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334).

The fact that framing has a large body of literature is both helpful and challenging. Framing has a solid foundation. However, the multitude of perspectives makes it important for this project to clearly define its use of framing so that the resultant research is accurately positioned in the media-public policy literature. Normally, that

definition would be provided first, and then its parts explained. The following discussion will reverse that order. As Nelson pointed out, “framing has been approached by many scholarly traditions,” and “it has been applied to different phenomena.” He notes that “we must strive to specify clear boundaries between the different kinds of framing while resisting the urge to call anything and everything a frame” (Nelson, 2011, p. 2). It is necessary to first set our boundaries, in order to explore the concept of framing in general and trace the scholarly path taken to arrive at the definition that will be employed in this project.

Framing was first identified by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1974)³² to refer “to an individual’s cognitive understanding of a given situation” (cited in Chong & Druckman, 2007b, p. 101). As a concept, it mirrors the complexity of the media and policy literature as a whole. It has its roots in many different traditions, “cognitive, constructionist, and critical studies” (D’angelo, 2002, p. 870); “sociology, economics, psychology, cognitive linguistics, and communication” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 9); and “political science, sociology, and media studies” (Borah, 2011, p. 246; Hertog & McLeod, 2001, p. 139), and is found in research on both sides of the media-public policy relationship (Chong & Druckman, 2007a). Gamson viewed a frame as “the principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them ‘Frames organize ‘strips’ of the everyday world, a strip being ‘an arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity’ (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10-11, quoted in Tuchman, 1979, p. 7).” Frames were internal to the individual. Tuchman

³² Goffman cited Bateson (Bateson, 1972, pp. 177-193) as a source for some of his ideas, but Goffman is usually identified in both the media and public policy literature as the source for the first definition of framing.

refined the notion of framing to focus on “how frames transform *occurrences* and *happenings* (strips of the everyday world) into defined *events* (emphasis in the original)” (Tuchman, 1979, p. 7). Tuchman applied these concepts to external frames within the media. He articulated the concept of “news as frame,” where “an occurrence is transformed into an event, and an event is transformed into a news story. The news frame organizes everyday reality. . .” (Tuchman, 1979, pp. 192-193).” Gitlin reinforced this notion of external frames within the media:

Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. *Media frames are consistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse whether verbal or visual* (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7, emphasis in the original).

Gamson and Modigliani echoed Goffman’s point that frames organize by defining the media frame as being “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson, Modigliani, & Braungart, 1987, p. 143). They also expanded the definition to include the purpose or consequence of a frame saying, “a frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Gamson et al., then provided a definition of an issue frame as “events that appear in an ongoing strip, requiring continuing interpretation” (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992, p. 385).

2.3.1 Basic Concepts Evolve

In 1991 Iyengar did two things. First, he positioned framing directly in the media “effects” literature (Iyengar, 1991). Specifically, he explored the “framing effects of news coverage.” He provided a typology of news frames. Frames were of two types,

episodic and thematic. “The episodic news frame focuses on specific events or particular cases, while the thematic news frame places political issues or events in some general context” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 2). Second, he and Entman examined these effects in relation to social and political problems (Entman, 1991, p. 6). Pan and Kosicki joined the sociological and psychological threads of framing to use the existence of news frames as a means by which to analyze the broader concept of “news discourse” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 56). By 1993 enough work had been done on framing in various disciplines that Entman issued a call to bring together the “fractured” paradigms of framing research (Entman, 1993, p. 51). In doing so, he did two things to further position framing within the media literature. First, he pointed out “that nowhere is there a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded in a text, or how framing influences thinking,” thereby calling for a definition that specifically linked frames to media text (Entman, 1993, p. 51). Second, he expanded Gitlin’s media-based definition of framing (1980, p. 7):

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993, p. 52, emphasis in original).

While a framing paradigm has not been pieced together, and some have argued that a single paradigm is neither desirable nor necessary (D'angelo, 2002), some basic concepts have emerged since Entman’s call: framing as a theory of media effects; separate media frames, media and audience--frames in communication, frames in thought; and contested/strategic frames.

2.3.1.1 Framing as Media Effect

Many policy scholars may be surprised to know that some media scholars still debate whether the media's effect is "limited" (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008) or not (Holbert, Garrett, & Gleason, 2010). There seems to be less doubt in the minds of some in Congress and the *Washington Post*. If the media had no effect, then there would have been no need for the Agriculture Act of 2014, 7 U.S.C. Sec. 4018 (2014) to prohibit the Secretary of Agriculture from using "television, radio, or billboard advertisements that are designed to promote supplemental nutrition assistance program benefits and enrollment." Between January 2013 and February 2017, The *Washington Post* has run 509 advertisements touting its role as the "No. 1 print and on-line media source, or 'App' for: government leaders inside the beltway; all government leaders; private associations nationally; all legislative branch leaders; and opinion leaders inside the beltway."³³

Though Scheufele was the first to codify framing as a theory of media effects, arguing that framing is distinct from agenda setting (Scheufele, 1999), there is a substantial body of research on framing effects and public policy or political communication. As Nelson observed, "Framing is a communal concept; perhaps alone among social science topics, it spans several layers of systemic and individual phenomena" (Nelson, 2011, p. 2). Iyengar argued that the television news is based on two basic frames: episodic, which is a "focus on specific events or particular cases;" and, "thematic," which places "political issues and events in some general context" Iyengar,

³³ The author first noticed these ads appearing in the *Washington Post*, January 13, 2013, and has tracked them since that date.

1992, p. 2). He concluded that the media's reliance on "episodic" frames "prevents the public from cumulating any of the evidence toward any logical, ultimate consequence" (ibid., p. 143). Nelson, et al., demonstrating that framing news as either a safety or free speech issue affected the opinions of individuals concerning a Klu Klux Klan rally (Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997). Boydstun and Glazier integrated Kahneman and Tversky's prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) with the framing of policy issues and conclude that "loss-based" framing of the War on Terror made the public more "willing to accept what might otherwise be seen as risky foreign policy ventures in Afghanistan and Iraq" (2013, p. 724). Yanovitzky examined media framing effects and the passage of legislation (Yanovitzky, 2002). Haider-Markel found that support of gun ban legislation was affected by frames under conditions where the frame was consistent with predispositions (2001, p. 534). Baumgartner et al. found that as the media frames of the death penalty shifted to innocence, public opinion and public policy changes followed (2008, p. 220).

Scheufele identified the four framing processes, which Druckman and Chong synthesized as:

'Frame building,' which focuses how 'frames are built;' 'frame setting,' which concerns the influence of frames in communication on frames in thought, and the precise psychological processes at work; 'individual-level effects of frames,' which refers to the impact of frames in thought and on subsequent behaviors or attitudes; and 'journalists as audiences,' which looks how frames influence journalists, are they susceptible to frames from the news media, or frames passed down top to bottom by elites, and how this affects frame building (Chong & Druckman, 2007b, p. 101; Scheufele, 1999, pp. 114-116).

Embedded in these processes is the identification of two specific types of frames—frames in thought and frames in communication.

2.3.1.2 Individual Frames/Media Frames—Frames in Thought and Frames in Communication

Key to Scheufele's characterization of the processes is specifying the existence of a relationship between two concepts of frames, individual frames and media frames (Scheufele, p. 106, 117). The media frame identified by Gamson and Modigliani "refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience;" (cited in Chong & Druckman, 2007b, pp. 100-101; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987); Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and the individual frame identified by Goffman, which "refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation." The definitions of these frame types have been refined Chong and Druckman. Frames in communication or media frames, refer "to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (2007b, p. 100)." Frames in thought or individual frames refer "... to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation. Unlike frames in communication, which reflect a speaker's emphasis, frames in thought refer to what an audience member believes to be the most salient aspect of an issue" (Goffman, 1974, cited in Chong & Druckman, 2007b, p. 101). A person's individual frames are cognitive devices used to make sense of news as framed in the media. Though at some point, the media-public policy relationship involves all of Scheufele's processes and both concepts of frames, this project will focus on frame building and frames in communication. More specifically, it will examine how frames in communication are positioned in the media.

2.3.1.3 Strategic Framing

One benefit of positioning framing within a theory of public policy is that the importance of framing becomes clear. Competition or conflict between different groups is a given in the public policy arena, political parties being the most obvious examples. Schattschneider even argued that there was too little conflict for our democracy (Schattschneider, 1960). These groups then, engage in purposeful communication designed to advance their point of view over their opponents (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 104; Browne, 1998, p. 12; Jacoby, 2000, p. 762; Miller & Riechert, 2003, p. 107; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994, p. 9; Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010, p. 111). Objectivity, neutrality, and impartiality are not keys to their intentions or communications. They will “frame” the debate, their communication in a way that they believe advances their views (Kinder & Nelson, 2005, p. 115; Miller & Riechert, 2003, p. 111; Tankard, 2003, p. 97). Frames are a “strategic resource constructed and wielded by an individual or group (including journalists), along with everything else the individual or group has at its disposal” (Reese, 2010, p. 20). The conscious tailoring of messages to a specific medium and audience is called “strategic framing” (Pan & Kosicki, 2003, p. 60). The fact that frames are a resource consciously used by all parties in the public policy process has a significant implication for the study of framing—in addition to a “media agenda,” “policy agenda,” or “public agenda” there is also a *source* agenda (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988, p. 61).

The existence of a source agenda is important for two reasons. First, it establishes the possibility that a change in frames relayed in the media may be directly related to a change in the sources who provide frames to the media. Second, it relates to the fallacy

that the media merely tell readers “what to think about” (Cohen, 1963). The media have the capacity also to influence how people think because is not just what is being talked about, but *how* it is being talked about that matters. As Entman points out:

The oft-quoted but misleading phrase that inaugurated the modern study of media effects is that: ‘the media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*.’ (Cohen, 1963, p. 13, emphasis in the original) Although the distinction between ‘what to think’ and ‘what to think about’ is not entirely clear, the former seems to mean what people decide, favor or accept, whereas the latter refers to the considerations they ‘think about’ in coming to such conclusions. The distinction misleads because, short of physical coercion, all influences over ‘what people think’ derives from telling them ‘what to think about.’ If the media really are stunningly successful in telling people what to think about, they must also exert significant influence over what they think. (Entman, 2010, pp. 336-337)

This influence over what people think is the reason strategic framing is important to sources and makes framing the key media element to study in examining the media-public policy relationship. Schramm said that the news is not the event but the report of the event (Schramm, 1949, cited in Miller & Riechert, 2003, p. 112). He might have added, the report of the event *as the sources want it framed and the journalists respond with frames of their own*.

It would be ideal to state that this project begins from the position that the media have an effect on public policy. However, because of the lack of precise definitions of policy, the most that can be said is there appears to be a potential for the media to have an effect on policy.³⁴ McCombs & Ghanem make it clear that “the task before us is to move

³⁴ If the media had no effect, why is it that every member of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate have communications directors who are charged with representing their principle with the media? Politicians may occasionally be guilty of wasting other people’s money. However, they

beyond the tangled plethora of meanings labeled frames and framing” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 79). It is hoped that the precise definitions of policy developed in this project will lead in that direction and assist in making clearer the nature and scope of the media-policy relationship.

seldom waste their own time or money and they expend a great deal of both interacting with, even attempting to gain the attention of the media.

Chapter 3. Basic Concepts in Defining the Media-Policy Relationship

In many dissertations, the research questions appear in at least the first or second chapter. The fact that they have not been presented yet is intentional. The basic premise of this project is that a lack of precise definitions hinders a meaningful examination of the media-policy relationship. To develop such definitions, it has been necessary to provide some background in media and policy theory to cogently discuss the key points that lead to the project's definitions and their use in establishing the research questions. With that background established, it is now important to discuss in-depth key concepts that will form the environment in which the research questions are formed.

3.1 Grouping Frames

One approach to defining frames in the media literature is to place frames into pairs of conceptually opposite groups. There are five major groupings of frames within the literature: “value/strategic (Borah, 2011, pp. 256-258);” “thematic/episodic” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 2); “individualizing/systemic” (Lawrence, 2004, p. 57); and, “issue/equivalent” (Druckman, 2004, p. 672); “general issue/specific issue” (Jacoby, 2005, 751). Table 2, lists the groups and their definitions. The term “emphasis” frame is also used by some instead of “issue frame” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 3). Conceptually, there is no difference between the concept of an issue frame and an emphasis frame. The difference in usage is usually associated with the fact that those using the term *emphasis* are focusing on the notion that issue frames involve an “emphasis” on certain elements of an issue over others.

Table 2. Major Groupings of Frames and Their Definitions

Frame Type	Definition
Thematic	“the thematic frame places public issues in some more general in some more general or abstract context. . . . consists of information bearing on general trends . . . or matters of public policy.” They are “. . . stories in which the object of coverage is abstract or impersonal (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14).
Episodic	“The episodic news frame takes the form of a case study or event oriented report and depicts public issues in terms of concrete issues (for example the plight of a homeless person or drug addict. . .) (ibid.)”
Systemic	“Systemic frames broaden the focus, assigning responsibility [for problems, ed.] to government, business, and larger social forces (Lawrence, 2004, p. 57)”
Individualizing	Individualizing frames limit the causes of a problem to particular individuals, often those who are afflicted with the problem (Lawrence, 2004, p. 57)
Value	. . . is a particular sort of frame that draws an association between a value and an issue that carries an evaluative implication: it presents one position on an issue as being right (and others as wrong) by linking that position to a specific core value (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 931).
Strategic	News frames “are those rhetorical and stylistic choices, reliably identified in the news, that alter the interpretations of the topics treated and are a consistent part of the news environment (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 40). Strategic news frames, “draw the audiences’ attention to the motivations of the people depicted.” Strategic coverage is focused “squarely on winning and losing (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 84).”
Issue	“Issue framing involves the selection of a particular attribute and an effort to make it more salient in the minds of average citizens relative to a host of other considerations that might come to mind (Guber & Bosso, 2012, p. 3).” Issue frames are distinguished from (logically) equivalent frames because they focus on “qualitatively different elements” (Druckman, 2004, p. 672) in making a statement of the issue.
Equivalent	Frames where the information is presented in different but logically equivalent ways of making the same statement (Druckman, 2004, p. 672).
Emphasis	Often viewed as being synonymous with “issue” frames, emphasis frames are ones in which there is an emphasis on particular subset

Table 2. Major Groupings of Frames and Their Definitions

Frame Type	Definition
	of elements of an issue (Druckman, 2001, p. 230). Frames that “convey differing perspectives on some event or issue” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 3)
General issue	“Is an interpretation that focuses on the disputed governmental activity itself. Little attention is paid to the underlying causes or consequences of any policy initiatives that may result from the resolution of the issue. An example of a general issue frame is a statement like ‘The Federal government should take steps to protect the environment’” (Jacoby, 2005, p. 751)
Specific issue	Explicitly links governmental activities with targets in society. Statements of this type not only promote certain policy initiatives; they also identify the reasons that such steps are necessary, along with the beneficiaries (or victims) of governmental action. An example of a specific issue frame might be “The federal government should protect the environment, in order to reduce air/water pollution and to protect people whose lives and property are threatened by toxic waste dumps” (ibid.).

Regarding the precision of the definitions, notice that seven of the eleven definitions (thematic, episodic, value, issue, emphasis, general issue, and specific issue) use the word “issue” to identify the topic of a frame. This begs the question, what is an issue? Is it unemployment, poverty, affirmative action (Iyengar, 1991, pp. 48-50); nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 13); obesity (Lawrence, 2004, p. 60); school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 933); or, immigration policy and federal funding for stem cell research (Lee et al., 2008, p. 702)? If all are issues, their categorization as issues limits our analysis of framing and its effects. It is certainly possible to take each one individually and analyze whether it is framed thematically or episodically, or the consequences if it being a value frame. However, the definition of issue does not provide a relationship between different issues. How is Obesity as an issue

related to funding for stem cell research? If they are different, how are they different?

The term issue provides no means to determine any differences. As Gamson, et al.

pointed out, there is a:

Fundamental ambiguity in the level of abstraction implied by the (framing, ed.) concept and what it is that is being framed. First, it is possible to talk about the framing of particular events or stories for example, the accident at Three Mile Island (TMI). Or, one can speak of issue-frames-for example, nuclear power in which events such as the TMI accident, appear in an ongoing strip, requiring continuing interpretation. Or, one can speak of larger frames that transcend a single issue, such as a cost-benefit frame for analyzing many issues. In specifying issue-frames, one can aggregate or disaggregate subframes, and researchers to date have provided few guidelines or consensus about what is the appropriate level of abstraction. (1992, pp. 384-385)

This absence of guidance is important because strategic or contested framing assumes the existence of not just one frame but multiple frames intended to impact the consequences of each other. Take the “need” and “scam” frames discussed in the introduction, are they both “issues?” If so, can they both be thematic frames? Certainly, the hunger of millions and the alleged loss of billions of dollars certain seems more general (thematic) than they are a case study (episodic). But they are obviously quite different, and they do have a relationship. They were both present in the media at a time when a decision was being made in 2014 to cut the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) funding. Assume both are issues framed thematically. Because SNAP funding was cut in 2014, can we concluded that the thematic scam frame was stronger than the thematic need frame? Even if we can, how far can the results be generalized? Would a frame of raising taxes to reduce the deficit is a scam be stronger than a frame of the need to simplify the tax code to lower taxes? Is a frame that a diet plan is a scam

stronger than the need to lose weight? Grouping competing frames at the issue level does not give us the answers.

Though the term issue is of little value in defining or grouping frames, it is important to understand why it appears in the literature. Its very definition as “an important topic or problem for debate or discussion (Oxford English Dictionary)” makes it a natural choice to describe the subject of frames. This is especially true in the policy literature, where the interest is in determining the media’s role in the debates or discussions of policy (Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2001, p. 521). Issue is a term used almost as much as policy in the policy literature. Since the policy process represents the source of topics for news frames, the media literature appears to have adopted the term’s usage. Because the term issue has little descriptive power--nuclear power (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 59) and school vouchers (Brewer & Gross, 2005, p. 933) are both issues—the media literature has not benefited from the use of this term. In fact, one of the reasons for the confusion or fuzziness in the media framing literature may be the attempt by media scholars to use the term issue as category or group of frames. The term at best defines single independent entities. Using it as a category or group label implies that the entities within the group have a relationship that simply does not exist.

Linguistically, the term is too flexible. One can even say there is an issue with the use of the term issue. Notice the following description of “issue coverage:”

Critics also mention an alternative reporting style that emphasizes policy issues, problems, and solutions in campaign coverage. Referred to as *issue coverage* (Jamieson & Cappella, 1993) or policy coverage (Patterson, 1993), this reporting style or frame presents proposals for the problems, information about who is advocating which policy alternative, and consequences of the problems and proposals (Rhee, 1997, p. 30).

To Rhee “policy issues,” “problems,” and “solutions” are all “issues” by their being defined as topics of “issue coverage.” Returning to our “need” and “scam” frames, are they both policy issues or problems? Assume that they are both problems, how then can “issue coverage” explicate the relationship between the two?

It is not that the framing literature has neglected to define frames. It is that the current definitions have not provided the clarity or stability to overcome the “conceptual fuzziness” (Borah, 2011, p. 256) and “conceptual confusion” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1) identified by some scholars. Scheufele who first proposed framing as a theory of media effects argues that framing research has “largely abandoned the more rigorous (and narrow) definition of frames derived from psychology .in favor of a much looser definition—stemming from work in sociology. . .” This has resulted in a “state of conceptual confusion that blurs the distinction between frames and other informational or persuasive features of messages” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 1). As a consequence, Guber and Bosso, point out that, “despite nearly a century of scholarship, progress on the subject has been slow, much to the frustration of researchers who complain about its (framing, Ed.) fragmentation across the disciplines” (2012, p. 3). If the literature is to advance, in particular, the media-policy relationship literature, more precise definitions need to be employed.

3.2 The Nature of Frames—Picture Frames vs. Building Frames

Difficulties with definition extend to the very terms of “frames” or “framing themselves because there:

Is an inherent ambiguity in the use of a word that has two somewhat different meanings in English—frame as in picture frame and frame as in the frame of a building. Most researchers who use the concept seem to emphasize the latter sense of frame as a latent structure. But the meaning of frame as boundary sometimes slips in as well, especially in (Goffman, 1974 cited in Gamson et al., 1992, p. 385).

This ambiguity is most apparent today in the debate over the difference between “issue frames” and “equivalent frames” (Druckman, 2004, p. 672). These are defined as:

1. Issue frames emphasize ‘a subset of potentially relevant considerations. . .’ that ‘. . . leads individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions. For example, describing a hate group in terms of free speech as opposed to public safety causes people to base their rally opinions on free speech instead of public safety considerations’ (ibid.).
2. Equivalent frames are different but contain ‘logically equivalent, words or phrases that cause individuals to alter their preferences. For example, people reject a policy program when told that it will result in 5% unemployment but prefer it when told that it will result in 95% employment. Framing effects violate a basic tenet of rational choice theory that individuals’ preferences do not change from alternative ways of eliciting the same preference (e.g., preferences should not depend on whether the programs are described in terms of unemployment or employment)’ (ibid, p. 671).

Scheufele and Iyengar's argument noted earlier effectively means that only “equivalent” frames of the same topic can be compared (2012, p. 20). They note how “the art dealer can shape public reactions to the exact same painting (a Gauguin for example, ed.) based on fairly subtle variations in how she decides to present – or quite literally “frame” – that painting” (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012, p. 20). For them, this seems to be sufficient. They do not argue for the merit of analyzing reactions to “two different paintings from two different painters” (ibid.). In their “frame is a picture frame”

(equivalent frame) not “a building frame” (issue frame) view, there is no ability analyze the complex frame contestation that took place regarding the Agriculture Act of 2014. A frame that the increase in SNAP participation and hence the increased cost was due to a change in eligibility is not equivalent to a frame that rising unemployment made more people poor enough to participate. The scam and need frames of this project are not the same Gauguin painting, one in gold and the other in an aluminum frame (ibid.). They are different paintings by different artists, “issue frames” to use Druckman’s terminology. By seeking to restrict the analysis to equivalent frames Scheufele and Iyengar preclude any analysis of issue frames such as scam and need. It is acknowledged that simply saying this is too great a limitation does nothing to advance the literature. Instead, this project will propose definitions for use in grouping frames in the policy arena that will allow for a comparison of issue frames and even provide more refinement to the comparison of equivalent frames. At present, using Scheufele and Iyengar’s strictures one can only analyze the same “Gauguin” painting in different frames. This project accepts that both conceptualizations of frames—equivalent and issue—are valid. This stance does not have to result in more confusion or blur “the distinction between frames and other informational or persuasive features of messages” (ibid., p. 1). Rather, the discussion in the following sections will argue that by employing this project’s proposed categories of frames in the policy sphere the result is the opposite. The definitions that will be proposed in this project will allow for the comparison on multiple levels: a “Gauguin” landscape compared with a “Gauguin” still life; or, a portrait of two Tahitian girls with a portrait of one Tahitian woman, and so forth.

3.3 Categorizing Frames—The Role of Topics

The key to addressing the tension between different views of the nature of frames is how to define or categorize them. By necessity, almost all framing studies identify or define the frames they are studying. It is difficult to think of a study that does not define at some level that which it is studying. Many researchers do this by identifying the topic of the media stories. Immigration, obesity, welfare, abortion, the economy, and nuclear power are just some of the topics that have been the subject of framing research (De Vreese, 2010; Gerrity, 2010; Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; Knoll, Redlawsk, & Sanborn, 2011; Lawrence, 2004; Lens, 2002; Merolla et al., 2013). This approach has been criticized on two grounds. First, there is a lack of frame definitions that can “be generalized across many different situations” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 79). This is caused in part by the trend in the literature to typically present “ad hoc” frames, “frames defined specifically for a single study with little or no attention to explicating either their basic characteristics or theoretical context” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 79). Borah’s review of framing studies confirmed this, finding in a review of 93 peer-reviewed journals published between 1997 and 2007 that 49% of the studies “were of unique frames--frames that are specific to the particular issue under study” (Borah, 2011, pp. 255-256). Second, citing Kosicki, they argue that “by describing issues in broad terms, such as ‘the economy’ or ‘the environment,’ the agenda setting tradition advances a perspective too sterile to allow for thorough inquiry into the nature and evolution of controversial issues as treated by the media” (Kosicki, 1994, cited in Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 104). Carragee and Roefs further argue that “the reduction of frames to story topics, attributes or positions ignores the ways in which frames construct particular

meanings and how they advance specific ways of seeing the issues” (2004, p. 218). They contend that this “reduction neglects how particular frames apply to multiple issues, and how a single issue position can be the product of more than one frame” (ibid.).

The apparently disconnected “need” and “scam” frames of interest here highlight the points raised in these criticisms. First, they are “topics.” Carragee and Roefs argue that “because of their limited scope, these definitions [by topic, Ed.] divorce media frames from the context in which they are produced” (ibid, p. 217). By context, they mean “accounting for their origin and the character of the framing contests conducted both within and outside of the news media” (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 220). Second, while at first glance the “need” and “scam” frames don’t seem to ignore the way meanings are constructed, and they clearly show how people would view an issue (hunger is hunger, and a scam is a scam); they aren’t generalizable, especially across time. The need frame of today is not the same as the need of 1968. The “starvation” and malnutrition reported by Wheeler and others in the Mississippi Delta in 1967 (Wheeler & Coles, 1968, p. 6), and which the Citizen’s Board concluded existed throughout America affecting millions (Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, 1968, p. 10) is not the same as today’s “very low food insecurity.” Also, there was no similar scam frame in 1968 because heat and eat did not exist then.

Carragee and Roefs' critique of framing research focuses on the reduction of frames to story topics (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, pp. 215-219). In their view, a reliance on topics contributes to "a theoretically and conceptually impoverished definition of framing" (ibid., p. 227). They propose that an explication of "hegemonic frames" would better advance our understanding of the media's link to "social and political power" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 228). What is of note in this judgment is the word "definition," because that is precisely what they do not provide. As they progress, the subject of their discussion becomes more and more abstract. They move from the somewhat discreet level of "news topic," then to "issues," and finally they end by addressing "hegemonic frames" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, pp. 217-228). They provide no definition of "issue" and how it is distinguished from "topic" and how "issue" and "topic" relate to their "hegemonic frames." By not defining these terms they have tiptoed around a glaring gap in not only the media but public policy literature—the almost complete absence of defined terms for the unit under study. This project seeks to address these difficulties by first accepting that "topics" are an acceptable construct for defining frames. This paper proposes that the Carragee and Roefs' "issues" cannot be divorced from the concept of "topic." An issue cannot exist without a topic. Just as a sentence is incomplete without a subject, a frame is incomplete without a topic. Topics, therefore, are a valid starting point. Secondly, this project will do what other research has not done, and that is to define discrete categories of frames that are generalizable across the policy sphere.

3.4 Defining Policy Categories

In Borah's review of the debate surrounding how to conceptualize frames three basic aspects are identified (2011, p. 249):

1. Some argue frames should not be reduced to story topics (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, pp. 217-218);
2. Frames as topics are too limited to act as "structures that draw boundaries, set up categories, define some ideas as out and others in, and generally operate to snag related ideas in their net in an active process" (Reese, 2007, p. 150); and
3. "There is a general tendency to generate a unique set of frames for every study," which leads to the potential for researchers to "easily find the evidence they are looking for" (Hertog & McLeod, 2001, p. 151).

These same aspects of framing were encountered in this project. In reviewing the literature, it became apparent that there is no consistency in the naming of the "subject" of media frames in either the media or public policy literature. "Policy," "policy issue," "problem," and "issue" are terms used almost indiscriminately in both media and public policy literature to describe very different subjects. Often these terms are not even defined; they are just labels attached to the subject being studied. The lack of consistency makes it very difficult to derive any hypotheses concerning the disconnect identified between the rising need for food assistance and the media's support of cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (nee Food Stamp) program in 2014. Initially, the rising need was identified as a "problem" and the cuts to SNAP as a "policy." However, using this breakdown to determine where other topics might fall, revealed that the "problem" frame (need) and "policy" frame SNAP were insufficient to accurately describe the possible set of topics related to what is called "public policy." It became apparent that "topic" was being confused with "category." SNAP is a topic, which is an element of the category policy. It is not possible to categorize the elements of

the anti-hunger world as just a problem or policy. For example, where would the concept of “ending childhood hunger” fall? It might be a “policy,” but it might also be a goal of policies. Is SNAP a policy? Is it logical to group SNAP and “ending childhood hunger” into the same category, policy? They appear to have obvious differences. SNAP is a tangible entity and “end childhood hunger” is just a slogan. How do you describe those differences? The same is true of frames of rising cost of SNAP and Republican’s framing the cause as a change in eligibility. Is the cost frame a policy frame and the eligibility a problem frame? Again, the differences are difficult to describe, especially if one does not clearly distinguish between topic and category.

It is necessary to define categories that will include the topics of interest to resolve the conflict and embody their relationship to one another. An initial review of the literature found that the most complete group of categories that were specific to policy were those identified by Charles O. Jones:

1. Proposal: specified means for achieving goals;
2. Programs: authorized means for achieving goals;
3. Decisions: specific actions taken to implement programs; and
4. Effects: the measurable impacts of programs. Cited in (Dye, 2013, p. 12)

However, these categories present certain difficulties. First, Jones does not connect the construct of a “problem” with these categories. Second, because all these categories are proposed as ways of viewing “policy” there is no separate category for policy distinct from other categories. Third, his definition of “program” does not seem to encompass all of what other scholars call policy tools (Salamon, 2002). Finally, his “decision” category definition seems to overlap his “program” category. What he calls decisions others label

as policy tools. Using Jones' categories, SNAP can be placed in either a program or decision category, but there is no place for frames of the rising need for assistance or a change in eligibility. Hill summed up the dilemma as follows:

The definitional problems posed by the concept of policy suggest that it is difficult to treat as a very specific and concrete phenomenon. Policy may sometimes be identifiable in terms of a decision, but very often it involves either groups of decisions or what may be seen as little more than an orientation. The attempts at definition also imply that it is hard to identify particular occasions when policy is made. There is a temptation here to adopt a more specific definition of policy for the purposes of the textbook, since there are grounds for seeing some usages as too vague for systematic analysis. This is perhaps the case with the poverty policy example discussed above. But it is unhelpful for social scientists to give terms in wide general use specific meanings for the purposes of their own analyses. In analyzing the policy process it is important to recognize that different actors will be using the word policy in different ways, often with the specific objective of influencing how others view their actions. (Hill, 2013, p. 15).

Thomas Dye argues that this search for a definition of public policy "can degenerate into a word game that, eventually, adds little more understanding. It may be fruitless to look for one particular definition of public policy, and it is certainly not useful to continue to develop more definitions" (cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 8). Policy and by extension public policy is as Smith and Larimer describe it, "... an intuitive concept that is maddeningly difficult to precisely define" (2009, p. 3). Hill suggests that "Perhaps we can do no more than adopt the very British pragmatism of Cunningham, a former top British civil servant, who argued that "Policy is rather like the elephant – you recognize it when you see it but cannot easily define it" (Cunningham, 1963, cited in Hill, 2013, p. 15). Smith and Larimer argue that "Public policy is like pornography. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart famously commented in his concurring opinion in *Jacobellis v. Ohio* (1964) that it was unlikely he could ever intelligibly define hard-core

pornography, ‘but I know it when I see it.’ Public policy is like that; an intuitive concept that is maddeningly difficult to precisely define” (2009, p. 3).

To advance our understanding of the media-policy relationship, one has to reject the notion that it is “unhelpful” or of no use to develop specific meanings/definitions for terms. True, many current definitions “convey no clear boundary that isolates the intellectual quarry of the policy scholar” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 3). However, it is not possible to conduct a meaningful examination of the media’s relationship to public policy *without* creating such definitions. In particular, without specific definitions, there is no way to categorize media frames of policy to show the relationships between them and actual policies or programs, and by extension use these relationships as a means to operationalize the concept of the media “informing” the public.

The obvious solution is to build suitable definitions. As noted earlier, Sabatier’s comments on the difficulty of building theories of public policy provide useful guidance. He pointed out that when dealing with complexity, “An alternative strategy is science. Its fundamental ontological assumption is that a small set of critical relationships underlies the bewildering complexity of a phenomena” (P. Sabatier, 2007b, p. 5). This leads to the notion that perhaps the goal is not to create “definitions,” but rather to consolidate the existing definitions into meaningful categories. To take the “complexity” of all the definitions in the literature and group them into categories that would capture the “small set of critical relationships” (ibid.).

The first step in looking for the “critical” relationships” was to choose Chaffee’s three organizing principles for categories as the criteria I would use to establish my categories:

1. There should be a place for everything; this is often called the principle of *collectively exhaustive* categories.
2. There should be only one category for each unit; this is the principle of *mutually exclusive* categories.
3. Each set of categories should be defined according to a single classificatory rule (*italics in original text*) (Chaffee, 1991, p. 34).

With these principles in mind, we begin with the understanding that the media-policy relationship assumes a study of the media in relation to public policy. Since the topics presented in the media lie within the policy domain or side of the relationship, the public policy field represents the best place to find “collectively exhaustive, mutually exclusive” categories “defined according to a single classificatory rule” (Chaffee, 1991, p. 34).

3.4.1 The Policy Process as a Guide

This project addresses the difficulties at hand by beginning with five basic assumptions. First, public policy is created as part of a process that has multiple stages (Mettler & Soss, 2004, p. 59). Second, each stage has a specific relationship to the other. For example, there is no policy impact or policy end unless there is first a policy. Third, media frames are built around a topic. Just as every sentence must have a subject, every frame has a topic. Fourth, the topics are generated on the public policy side of the media-policy relationship. Fifth, it is possible to create categories of topics using constructs and definitions already present in the public policy literature to group frames in a meaningful way.

However, the existence of a policy process does not automatically provide the necessary organization or categories because there are varying definitions of the stages of the process. Table 3, gives seven representative samples of how different scholars define the stages of the public policy process and while they all describe the policy process, their structure is not uniform. Notice that Dye indicates that problem definition is distinct from agenda setting, and Cairney breaks policy change into three elements: maintenance, succession or termination. Even if there was total agreement on the names and definitions of the policy process, the stage names are not sufficient as categories for frames.

To identify suitable categories, a review of the public policy literature was conducted to identify elements or constructs that are associated with any stage of the policy processes identified in Table 3. Only constructs for which an actual definition was provided in the literature were selected. The initial list of twenty-two constructs or categories is provided in Table 4. The definitions of these constructs were evaluated to determine if they could be combined into categories. The most obvious difficulty with the initial definitions is that many of them conflate the definitions of two or more of the other categories. Cairney's definition of public policy is an example:

Policy can refer to an aim, a decision or an outcome; it may refer to issues that policymakers do not address; and, it is made and influenced by many actors who may or may not have formal authority (Cairney, 2012) (p. 22).

Table 3. Representative Descriptions of the Public Policy Process

Anderson (2015, p. 4)	Cairney (2012, p. 34)	Dye (2013, p. 16)	Kraft & Furlong (2015, p. 84)	Smith & Larimer (2009, p. 236)	Peters (2013, pp. 49, 189)	Rushefsky (2013, p. 5)
Policy Agenda		Problem Definition				Problem Identification
	agenda setting	Agenda Setting	agenda setting;	Agenda Setting	Agenda Setting	Agenda Building
Policy Formulation	Formulation	Policy Formulation	Policy Formulation	Policy Formulation	Formulation	Policy Formulation
Policy Adoption	Legitimization	Policy legitimization	Policy legitimization	Policy Adoption	Legitimization	Policy Adoption
						Budgeting
Policy Implementation	Policy Implementation	Policy Implementation	Policy Implementation	Policy Implementation	Implementation	Implementation
Policy Evaluation	Policy and Program Evaluation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Evaluation	Policy Evaluation	Evaluation	Evaluation
	Policy Maintenance, Succession or Termination		Policy Change		Policy Change	Policy Succession

Aims, decisions, and outcomes are three distinct policy elements. If one employs this definition as a category of frames, there is no way to distinguish between a policy goal (aim) and the actual result of the policy (outcome).

Table 4. List of Major Policy Elements or Categories

Problem
Public Problem
Policy
Public Policy
Policy Behavior
Policy Choice
Policy Goals
Policy Impact
Policy Instrument
Policy Issue
Policy Lines
Policy Measures
Policy Outcomes
Policy Outputs
Policy Administration
Policy Principles
Policy Statements
Policy Tool
Tool of Public Action
Policy Objectives
Policy Outputs
Policy End

Rather than clarifying or providing more specific terms, the list in Table 4 simply adds another layer of confusion. How is a problem, different from a policy problem; or how is a policy outcome different from a policy output? More had to be done than simply finding lists of terms in the literature. Next, the definitions of each of these elements were reviewed to determine how those definitions could be used to establish a manageable number of categories that satisfied Chaffee's criteria of being collectively

exhaustive and mutually exclusive (see Tables F1 through F22, in Appendix F). After several iterations of grouping like parts of various definitions, it determined that the central concepts of the definitions for all twenty-two elements could be grouped into five categories:

1. Public Problem
2. Public Policy
3. Public Policy Tool
4. Public Policy Goal
5. Public Policy End³⁵

It is important to note that the five categories developed for this project expand the notion of public policy and its related elements to include the functions of the Department of Defense and the State Department. These two groups are not mentioned in much of the public policy literature (Birkland, 2011; Salamon, 2002), perhaps because the policy studies literature contains an implied distinction between “public” and “foreign” policy. The categories developed for this project make no such distinction. The Defense and State Department functions involve members of the American public, use public funds and other public resources and are carried out in the name of the “public.” Therefore, they definitely fall into the category of “public” policy and its associated elements.

³⁵ As noted earlier, a major theme of this project is that the failure to use precise definitions and terminology contributes to a general confusion in the literature. However, the reality is that a balance should be struck between precision and using linguistic forms that may confuse the reader. Using the word “public” as a prefix for each of the categories developed in this project, as in *public problem*, *public policy*, *public policy tools*, *public policy goals*, and *public policy ends* creates certain difficulties. While these terms are accurate, they are potentially distracting. In earlier drafts of portions of this project it became clear that placing the word “public” before each of the category titles was distracting. The repetitive use of the word “public” has the potential to frustrate rather than inform the reader. The remedy for this is to omit the constant placement of the word “public” before each category name and state up front that this project’s categories of problem, policy, policy goals, policy tools and policy ends refer to *public* problems, *public* policy, *public* policy goals, *public* policy tools and *public* policy ends unless otherwise stated.

3.4.2 Policy Category Definitions

With respect to the categories and their descriptions shown below, the normal conventions for citing material have been modified. Because the definitions are comprised of words taken primarily from existing definitions in the literature and because a word in a category definition may have been used by multiple authors, it would be too cumbersome to include the citations within the text of each category description or definition. Instead, each category definition has footnote numbers appearing after keywords or concepts that have been taken from the literature. For example, in the “problem” definition the footnote number 36 appears after the word “condition.” This concept of “problem” being a condition is taken from several sources in the literature. If the reader goes to footnote 36 at the bottom of the page, they will find a series of numbers and letters – F1b, F1e, F1g, F1h, F1i, F1j, F1l, F1m, F1p, F1s, F2a. These are keys to the specific reference from which the concept of “condition” was drawn from the literature. Appendix F contains. Tables F1 through F22. Each of these tables corresponds to a major element of public policy that was identified in the literature. Table F1 is the table giving definitions in the literature for the “problem” element. The definitions in each table are the source definitions from which the category descriptions were constructed. The authors are listed in alphabetical order, and each row in the figure is identified using a character of the alphabet. Going back to our example of “condition,” the first key in footnote 36 is “F1b.” if the reader goes to Appendix F, locates Table F1, “Representative Definitions of the Term ‘Problem,’” and goes to row “b,” they will see Baumgartner and Jones 2009 listed as one source that identifies a problem as a “condition.” The actual quote using the term is given to the left of the authors’ names,

and the code in the far-right column of the table denotes what policy element this definition references. In the case of this example, the code is PPr for policy problem. Using another example, footnote 40 appears after the phrase “Outside or inside the government,” in the description of the problem category. The keys associated with this footnote are F1a and F1c. These correspond to Table F1, (problem) rows a and c, (Anderson, 2015) and (Birkland, 2011), respectively. Footnote 40 applies to the phrase “outside or inside the government.” This corresponds to the portion of Anderson’s problem definitions, which says, “policy players either inside or outside of the government.” Birkland’s phrase contains the same thought “according to people or interest groups.” Both these quotes correspond to the phrase “outside or inside the government” in this project’s definition of the “problem” category. Clearly, “people” and “interest groups” can be located inside or outside of the government. Also, notice that Birkland’s definition (F1c) is also listed as corresponding to footnote 37 of the problem definition’s phrase “deemed to be undesirable,” because it contains the words “a usually undesirable situation.”

Below are the definitions of the policy frame categories that will be employed in this project, keeping in mind that it is implied that the word “public” precedes each title:

1. **Problem** – A condition³⁶ deemed to be undesirable³⁷ (a human need, deprivation or dissatisfaction)³⁸ whether it is domestic or foreign by some person or persons³⁹ outside or inside of the government⁴⁰ for which some people outside or inside of the government demand some ameliorative action,⁴¹ relief or redress⁴² regardless of whether or not it is known that something can be done about this condition⁴³ at the time it is identified as undesirable.

³⁶ F1b, F1e, F1g, F1h, F1i, F1j, F1l, F1m, F1p, F1s, F2a

³⁷ F1c, F1d, F1f, F1g, F1h, F1i, F1l, F1n, F1p, F2a, F2c, F4j

³⁸ F2c

³⁹ F1a, F1i, F1j

⁴⁰ F1a, F1c

⁴¹ F1h, F1j, F1l, F1o, F1s, F2c

⁴² F1d, F1e, F1i, F1k, F1m, F2a, F2b, F2c

⁴³ F1r

2. **Policy** - A statement or pronouncement⁴⁴ by the government—at whatever level⁴⁵-of what it intends to do or not do⁴⁶ about a public problem whether domestic or foreign. The statement or pronouncement may or may not include a description of the public policy goal to be achieved⁴⁷ by the public policy and/or the public policy tools that will be required by the policy. The public policy may be drafted or influenced by many actors who may or may not have formal authority,⁴⁸ but the final public policy is a statement or pronouncement by the government. The lack of such statements may be evidence of an implicit public policy.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ F3b, F3e, F3o, F3y, F17a

⁴⁵ F3b

⁴⁶ F3e, F3s, F4a, F4c, F4i, F4j, F4p, F16a

⁴⁷ F3y

⁴⁸ F4b, F4h

⁴⁹ F3b

3. **Policy Tool** – The products of purposive decisions (decisions may include decisions to take no action) or actions⁵⁰ by government at any level⁵¹ or through agents⁵² to reduce or eliminate an undesirable state of affairs⁵³ whether domestic or foreign by providing goods, services or information either directly or through agents to the public and government(s).⁵⁴ Public policy tools are the specific instruments employed to implement a policy. They can include laws, regulations, rulings, orders, edicts, procedural instruments⁵⁵ programs,⁵⁶ reports, committees, boards, hearings, financial assistance, judicial decisions, executive orders, speeches, standards regarded by the legislature and courts as being of fundamental concern to society. Policy tools include incentives or disincentives to make parties take policy-preferred actions.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ F3a, F3c, F3d, F3f, F3g, F3i, F3j, F3k, F3l, F3m, F3n, F3q, F3r, F3s, F3t, F3v, F3w, F3x, F4b, F4c, F4e, F4f, F4h, F4i, F4j, F4k, F4l, F4m, F4n, F4p, F5a, F6a, F9a, F9c, F13f, F14a, F14b, F14c, F14d, F14g, F15a, F15b, F19a, F21a

⁵¹ F3b

⁵² F4l, F6a

⁵³ F3i, F3m

⁵⁴ F9a, F9b, F12a, F14g

⁵⁵ F3e, F3o, F3p, F3x, F4p, F9b, F12a, F14a, F14c, F17a, F18a, F18b, F18d, F18e

⁵⁶ F3u, F14f

⁵⁷ F6a, F17a, F18c

4. **Policy Goal** – The intended or desired result of the policy or the utilization of or the conscious decision not to utilize⁵⁸ public policy tools to reduce or eliminate an undesirable state of affairs⁵⁹ whether domestic or foreign. While not ideal, the goal(s) of a policy may be somewhat loosely stated and imprecise in content, thus providing a general direction rather than a precise target for [the public policy, Ed.] implementation.⁶⁰ Public policy goals can be explicitly stated or implicit in the public policy statement or other factors sometimes found in the legislative history.⁶¹

⁵⁸ F1n, F3b, F3e, F3v, F3y, F4b, F7b, F7c, F7d, F13g, F16a, F20a, F20b

⁵⁹ F1n, F4e

⁶⁰ F7a, F11a

⁶¹ F7d, F16a

5. **Policy End** – The actual intended or unintended,⁶² positive or negative,⁶³ impact, consequence,⁶⁴ outcome,⁶⁵ or achievement⁶⁶ that makes a positive or negative⁶⁷ difference in people's⁶⁸ (not just citizen's)⁶⁹ actual living circumstances⁷⁰ whether domestic or foreign.

These five categories are what this project proposes to use to group the frames that have appeared in the media regarding hunger and anti-hunger policy in America. It is acknowledged that the definitions identified for the twenty-two policy elements do not represent any consensus regarding a standard definition. However, a lack of consensus is not fatal to this project. The objective is not to create definitions, but rather to organize existing definitions into categories that conform to Chaffee's principles of being collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive. Schneider and Ingram include "regulations" or the "goods and services" provided by the government in their definition of policy (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p. 2). This project places those items the category of "policy tool." The definition of "regulations" and "goods" is the same as that

⁶² F13a, F13b, F13c, F13e

⁶³ F13b

⁶⁴ F3x, F8a, F8b, F22a

⁶⁵ F4a, F4b, F4d, F13a, F13c, F13d, F14e, F20c

⁶⁶ F13c, F14e,

⁶⁷ F10b, F13b

⁶⁸ F6a, F8c

⁶⁹ F4k, F4l, F6a, F8b,

⁷⁰ F8c

understood by Schneider and Ingram. This project simply organizes them into a category with a standard definition.

3.4.3 The Unique Nature of “Problems”

Before explaining how the categories will be used and the research questions that employ them, it is necessary to briefly discuss the unique nature of the concept of “problem.” Conditions are the universe of what exists. Conditions become problems when someone determines the condition is undesirable (1995, p. 109). The shift in status from exists (condition) to being undesirable (problem) can apply to the other four categories defined for this project: policy, policy goal, policy tool, and policy end. The cost of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) is a condition. It could be deemed “too high” by some and therefore undesirable, making the cost a *policy tool problem*. It is key to understand that this is not a violation of Chaffee’s requirement that category definitions be “mutually exclusive.” The definition of *problem* is distinct from the definition of a *policy tool problem*. The test of exclusivity is the fact that a problem (hunger) can exist independent of a policy tool problem (high cost of SNAP). A policy tool problem cannot exist independent of a policy tool. In fact, there is an almost natural evolution in the policy process from problem to policy to policy tool to policy tool problem. As Berry has pointed out, as far back as the early 1980’s support for the food stamp/SNAP program waned because the program (policy tool) had become the “problem” instead of hunger (1984, p. 92). This a crucial point. Journalists tend to focus on problem frames or strategic frames (Patterson, 2013, p. 91). Often the strategic frame is a “game frame” of “winners and losers” (Lawrence, 2000, p. 95). The potential exists for the journalist to believe they are informing the public concerning a problem such as

the high cost of the policy tool SNAP while ignoring the problem (hunger), which precipitated the creation of SNAP. They are confusing a policy tool problem with *the* problem. A real-world example is the case of the media recently labeling a portion of SNAP—Heat and Eat--as being a “scam” and a “loophole”⁷¹ that justifies cutting food assistance despite almost 15% of the population being poor enough to be eligible for SNAP assistance. The “scam” or “loophole” frames, which some might categorize as problems are categorized in this project as a SNAP policy tool problem frame. The rising need for assistance is categorized as a problem.

This distinction can be seen in the example of The Agriculture Act of 2014 which, made changes to the Heat and Eat section of SNAP with the intent of closing a loophole and decreasing SNAP costs. However, while Congressional Republicans created the media frame that a change in eligibility requirements was the cause of the rising enrollment in SNAP, supporters of SNAP disagreed. They argued that unemployment caused by the 2008 economic crisis was responsible for the surge in participation (Food Research Action Center, 2012) and a change eligibility requirements. In other words, that the eligibility limits had not fallen, but that more people had lower incomes. Here is another example where clearly identifying the elements of policy can assist in determining if the public is being “informed.” As noted earlier in this paper, without the benefit of the categories proposed by this project, high cost, the change in eligibility and unemployment frames can all be labeled “problems.” Again, as with the scam and need frames, labeling all the frames problems does nothing to explicate the relationship between the three frames and their relationship to any subsequent changes in

⁷¹ The program is officially known as the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP).

SNAP. However, high cost is intrinsically tied to the public policy tool SNAP and so are eligibility requirements. They are policy tool problem frames of a policy tool, SNAP. Unemployment, however, is not a policy tool problem. It is, according to this project's categories a problem. The eligibility policy tool problem frame implies that a change must be made to the policy tool—SNAP. The high-cost frame has the same implication. Eligibility should be rolled back to the previous requirements. Reducing the cost of SNAP is necessary. However, if the policy tool problem is NOT related to *the* problem, then there is a potential that the changes to the public policy tool may affect the tool (lower expense), but the changes may not address the problem (hunger) or may even exacerbate it.

This is obviously an issue for the public and the policymakers, but it is also a significant issue for the media. If the media are to “inform” the public, is that function being performed adequately if they support changes to a public policy tool that address a policy tool problem and do not address the stand-alone problem? It would appear the answer is no. The advantage of using the categories that I have identified is that I can operationalize the informing function of the media in a consistent way. One operationalization is that informing means determining whether one source's linking of a problem with a policy tool problem is accurate. Is a change in eligibility or the Heat and Eat program loophole accurately linked to the problem of rising demand for SNAP assistance? Or, is there another problem such as unemployment that is causing the increase in demand for assistance? If the media called for cuts in SNAP and ignored the unemployment problem, then it appears reasonable to conclude the media failed in performing its “informing” function. Most importantly, the use of the categories

developed in this project allows us to state specifically how they failed, which is the first step in improvement.

3.4.4 Tone of the Frame

This project initially identifies frames by a topic, hunger and SNAP/food stamps. Using the categories of problem, policy, policy goal, policy tool, and policy end the relationship between hunger as a problem and SNAP/food stamps a policy tool is established. While useful, this relationship is of limited power to explicate the interactions of these frames. This project's operating definition of a frame is "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (Tankard, 2003, p. 100). Simply identifying hunger as a problem frame does not address the question of what is the context, what is the emphasis? Hunger, what about it? There is nothing in just identifying hunger a problem frame that would, "*promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described (Entman, 1993, p. 52, emphasis in original). The element that is missing is the frame's tone, which "refers to the direction, focus or implication of the article" (Baumgartner et al., 2008).

Tone is a frame element that evolved in Punctuated Equilibrium theory as the theory matured its understanding of information and its role in the policy process (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009, p. 25). In their study of the death penalty, Baumgartner et al. developed their tone from the top down. They began with establishing three meta-

tones:⁷² pro-death penalty; anti-death penalty and neutral. Based on their knowledge of the death penalty, research and professional discussions they established a set of sixty-five arguments for and against the death penalty such as: “proceedings are racist; life imprisonment is more expensive; it deters crime.” The arguments were grouped into “dimensions,” such as “cost, morality, and fairness.” They then coded news stories to identify these arguments. Stories were coded for as many arguments as appeared in them (ibid. pp. 106-109). Each of the arguments was grouped according to whether or not they were pro-death penalty, anti-death penalty or neutral. Stories from the *New York Times* were coded as to the appearance of the arguments and they found that an increase in articles emphasizing the fact that innocent people had been sentenced to death and a decrease in the number of instances of the death penalty being employed was preceded by the shift from pro-death penalty to anti-death penalty frames (Ibid., pp. 102-135).

This project adopts the tone approach with two differences. First, rather than establish meta-tones first, they were developed after reviewing the articles. Second, instead of reviewing articles for “arguments” that supported/opposed a pre-defined meta-tone, the articles were reviewed for key “statements” they made concerning the hunger problem or SNAP/food stamp policy tool. This process will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, but the highlights are as follows. This project has focused on a disconnect between the problem frame of hunger and the policy tool frame of SNAP/food stamps. It was established that stories in which the topics of hunger, SNAP or food stamps appeared in the title or the first three paragraphs of the story were problem or policy tool frames. Searches for the appearance of these topics in stories in the *New York Times*, *Washington*

⁷² “meta-tones” is the author’s term and not Baumgartner’s. It is the smallest grouping of tones of an article.

Post, and *USA Today* for the relevant time periods were conducted using Lexis Academic and ProQuest Historical Newspaper databases. Initially, over 4,000 stories were retrieved. The stories were reviewed to determine if in fact, the focus of the story was hunger or SNAP/food stamps. Stories not germane to the study of hunger such as hunger strikes and stories with only one mention of food stamps as part of welfare programs, in general, were eliminated. Because the focus is on media generated stories, non-news stories, such as opinion pieces by guest and regular commentators, and letters to the editor were also eliminated. After the review, over 1,000 stories were identified as having either a problem or policy tool frame. As part of the reviewing process, the focus or statements presented in individual articles was noted. The notes were examined keeping in mind the information obtained in the literature review, previous discussions with professionals in the area of anti-hunger policy and the author's experience gained while working as a career federal employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture for twenty-seven years. Once the review was complete, a final list of statements was established. These statements were grouped into tones such as "SNAP/food stamps are necessary," "cut SNAP/food stamps," "hunger and obesity are linked," "hunger exists," "hunger does not exist," and so forth.⁷³ In all, fourteen tones were identified, which were grouped into five meta-tones: "save SNAP/Food Stamps;" "Cut SNAP/Food Stamps;" "hunger exists;" "Charity feeds the hungry" and, "the reader decides." A sixth meta-tone, "hunger does not exist" was not established because out of the final 894 stories reviewed only three contained statements related to hunger not existing.

⁷³ A full listing of the statements and their grouping into dimensions is provided in Chapter 4.

These meta-tones and the fourteen tones can be compared relative to one another and whether or not they are associated with a problem frame or policy tool frame within and across the four times periods of interest to this project. The relationship of the appearance of problem and policy tool frames before and after a policy tool is passed is informative on one level. The relationship of either problem and policy tool frames and their tone—save SNAP/food stamps, cut SNAP/food stamps—reveals even more about their relationship.

On a final note, tone is distinct from the logic of a statement, but that does not mean that equivalent frames cannot have a tone. Druckman's example of people rejecting a policy program that results in 5% unemployment, but accepting the same program if told it results in 95% employment is a case in point (Druckman, 2004, p. 671).

“Unemployment will increase” and “employment will increase” can be considered the focus of the frame, and therefore they are tones. Equivalent frames may contain the clearest types of tones. In point of fact, one defining characteristic of an equivalent frames might be the presence of clear and opposing tones.

3.5 Frames and Fairness

Why is it important to say that definitions are vital and frames matter? Why is important to acknowledge that “problems” are independent of “policy tools” or “policy tool problems?” The answer lies in the ultimate objective of public policy, the identification and implementation of fair policies. This project is examining anti-hunger policy, which by its very nature involves the concept of fairness. If the media has a role in policy, then it is one element in the achievement or possible achievement of a fair policy. Therefore, without delving

too deeply into the different theories, it is useful to examine how the underpinnings of equivalent frames provide a link to fairness.

The notion of equivalent frames as described by Scheufele and Iyengar (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2012), is grounded in the examples of individual psychology as described by Kahneman and Tversky's prospect theory. Kahneman describes prospect theory as a theory

In which the choices between gambles and sure things are resolved differently depending on whether or not the outcomes are good or bad. Decision makers tend to prefer the sure thing over the gamble (they are risk averse) when the outcomes are good. They tend to reject the sure thing and accept the gamble (they are risk seeking) when both outcomes are negative (2011, p. 368).

Kahneman argues that these decisions are made “almost automatically, with little sense of voluntary control” and they can be influenced by the way in which the topic is framed (Kahneman, 2011, pp. 20-21). The central element here is the notion of gain versus loss and that individuals are asymmetrically “loss averse.” They “care more about a loss than they do a gain of equal magnitude” (Soroka, 2006, p. 373). Simply put, people's “reactions to negative information is greater than reactions to positive information” (ibid.). This creates an interesting dynamic. Boydston notes that following the adage of “if it bleeds, it leads,” the media tend to emphasize negative or loss-based stories (Boydston & Glazier, 2013, p. 711). Sheafer considers this reasonable as, “information about negative developments captures our attention much more than information about positive developments” (2007, p. 23). This is not unexpected because as Soroka points out, part of the surveillance function of the media is to identify problems (2006, p. 374). This then is where the different threads begin to come together. People have a stronger

reaction to problems (negative information) than solutions (positive information), and a major function of the media is the identification of problems. These factors combine with the fact that people's reactions to problems are influenced by the way the information is framed, and that these reactions are almost involuntary. To bring all of this back to the journalist and fairness or justice there is one more thread to follow.

Kahneman posits that individuals employ two modes of thinking: S" System 1 (slow) and System 2 (fast) (Kahneman, 2011, pp. 20-21):

- System 1 operates automatically and quickly, with little or no effort and no sense of voluntary control.
- System 2 allocates attention to the effortful mental activities that demand it, including complex computations. The operations of System 2 are often associated with the subjective experience of agency, choice, and concentration.

Kahneman acknowledges that System 1 does not make the "best" decisions. He encourages individuals to mimic organizations that adopt procedures and techniques that will guide people away from a sole reliance on System 1 and encourage the inclusion of System 2, to make the best decisions (ibid., p. 417). Here then is the location of the role of the journalist and the media: They act as the initiators, conveyors, and maintainers of the communication or discussion that is the bridge between System 1 and System 2.

This bridge has direct implications for anti-hunger policy. Frohlich and Oppenheimer stress the value of information and communication "for the continued acceptability of reasonable support programs" (Frohlich & Oppenheimer, 1992, p. 183). The media are a key source of such information. As such, it is important for the media to understand the potential consequences of ignoring "problems" and focusing on "policy

tool problems.” In explaining the power of equivalent frames, Kahneman, following Schelling’s⁷⁴ research, pointed out that System 1 unconsciously “delivers an immediate response to any question about rich and poor: when in doubt favor the poor” (Kahneman, 2011, p. 370). However, how a problem is “framed” could lead to “contradictory answers” to the same problem (ibid.). In short, the framing of a problem can alter the immediate response to favor the poor to one that does not favor the poor. It is possible that the reframing that produced the “contradictory answers” reframed the issue from a gain for the individual to a loss for the individual. Oppenheimer and Frohlich explain the thinking that may have been at play in those for whom the frame changed their immediate response of favoring the poor to not favoring the poor. Oppenheimer and Frohlich make the observation that “We care substantially more that others do as much as we do, than we do about their doing more” (Oppenheimer & Frohlich, 2009, p. 21). Let’s rephrase their observation slightly, “We care more that we are asked to do more than others, than we do that they do about their doing more than us.” It is possible that a focus on the SNAP/food stamp policy tool and SNAP/food stamp policy tool problems while ignoring the hunger problem, creates a perception that SNAP/food stamp recipients are doing less than the taxpayer whose money is used to support the program. In essence, it would erode compassion for those who are hungry by ignoring the reasons for their plight while also ‘blaming’ them for the poor policy.

⁷⁴ See Choice and Consequence (1984).

3.6 Defining “Hunger”

Defining the word “hunger” has always presented a problem for researchers. Before 1968, no national studies of nutrition existed. Malnutrition and hunger were discovered in 1967 virtually eradicated by 1977 (Physician Task Force on Hunger in America & Brown, 1985, p. xx). In 1971 the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) began collecting data (Kurzynske & McGough, 1999). By 1982 hunger had returned to America (Physician Task Force on Hunger in America & Brown, 1985, p. 12). Beginning in the late 1980’s researchers struggled with how to define hunger in order to study it. The Extension Service identified sixteen definitions of food security; twenty definitions of food insecurity; and, twenty-one definitions of hunger (Leidenforst, 1993).⁷⁵ The Department of Agriculture’s, Economic Research Service, which was charged with producing annual reports on “Household Food Security,” asked the Committee on National Statistics (CNSTAT) of the National Academies in 2003 to assess the problem of defining hunger and make recommendations. In 2006, after three years of study, the National Academies recommended that USDA stop using the term “hunger:”

USDA should explicitly state in its annual reports that the data presented in the report are estimates of prevalence of household food insecurity and not prevalence of hunger among individuals (National Academies & Committee on National Statistics, 2006, p. 54).

In November 2006, with the publication of the “Household Food Security in the United States, 2005” report, the Economic Research Service eliminated the term “hunger” from its reports (Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2006). “Hunger” in America had

⁷⁵ A comprehensive list of the numerous definitions for food security, food insecurity and hunger are provided in Appendix G.

been eradicated, at least from official reports. Beginning with the 2005 report, “food insecurity without hunger” was replaced by the term “low food security” and “food insecurity with hunger” was replaced with “very low food security” (ibid., p. 4, 6). The commonly accepted definitions of “food security” and “food insecurity” are:

“Food security” is defined as access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life and includes at a minimum: a) the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and b) the assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g., without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, and other coping strategies). “Food insecurity” exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain (Anderson, 1990).

Once a year as part of its monthly Current Population Survey, the U.S. Census Bureau includes a “Food Security Supplement” (Census, 2016). The responses to the questions in this supplemental survey are used by the Department of Agriculture’s, Economic Research Service to determine the level of food security in America:

Households classified as having low food security have reported multiple indications of food access problems, but typically have reported few, if any, indications of reduced food intake. Households classified as having very low food security have reported multiple indications of reduced food intake and disrupted eating patterns due to inadequate resources for food (Nord et al., 2006, p. 4).

The fact that “hunger” has no standard definition and has been eliminated from reports is of little relevance to this project. The objective of this study is to examine the occurrence or use of the term in the media, not derive a precise definition. Preliminary reviews of articles published after 2006 revealed that the word “hunger” continues to be used in the media. In contrast, a LexisNexis search of any occurrence of the term “very low food security” appearing anywhere in the

New York Times, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* between January 1, 2006, and January 1, 2016, identified only 19 articles using that term in the entire ten-year period. To ensure that no relevant articles are missed, any searches of the hunger issue after 2006, should include the term “hunger,” “food security,” “food insecurity,” and “food insecure.” Including all the terms, also makes it possible to determine the degree to which the media had abandoned hunger and adopted the food insecurity terminology.

A clear example of the necessity for continuing to use “hunger” as a representation of a problem is the National Commission on Hunger. The Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2014 provided one million dollars to fund a bi-partisan National Commission on Hunger. The commission’s charge was:

To provide policy recommendations to Congress and the USDA Secretary to more effectively use existing programs and funds of the Department of Agriculture to combat domestic hunger and food insecurity;⁷⁶ and to develop innovative recommendations to encourage public-private partnerships, faith-based sector engagement, and community initiatives to reduce the need for government nutrition assistance programs, while protecting the safety net for the most vulnerable members of society (National Commission on Hunger, 2015).

The commission’s definition of hunger demonstrates the linguistic gymnastics that are required to attempt to reconcile the term hunger, which is generally understood by the population and “very low food security:”

What Is Hunger? We chose a precise and readily available measure of hunger called *very low food security*. For purposes of this report, hunger means the lack of access to food when families do not have enough money, causing them to cut the size, quality, or frequency of their meals throughout the year. We wish to be very clear that hunger in America is

⁷⁶ Notice the use of both “hunger” and “food insecurity.” Since 2006 these terms have been deemed mutually exclusive in official Department of Agriculture reports.

not the same as famine and the resulting malnutrition seen in developing countries (National Commission on Hunger, 2015).

In the first sentence, hunger is “very low food security.” In the last sentence, there is hunger in America, but it is not famine. It is doubtful that hunger will ever cease to be referenced, meaning that any studies of “food security or insecurity” should include the term hunger in the data collection.

3.7 Brief History of Anti-Hunger Policy in America

A very brief summary of the Food Stamp and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs has already been given in the Introduction.⁷⁷ The intent of this section is to provide background for the four time periods that form the focus of this project. Each period is two years before and two years after passage of key pieces of legislation.

3.7.1 The Food Stamp Act of 1977

This period is useful for study because, in the two years before passage of the Food Stamp Act of 1977, there were efforts to cut the program’s benefits, followed by passage of a bill reducing the burden on recipients. The Food Stamp Act of 1977 was passed September 29, 1977. The central element of this piece of legislation was the elimination of the “purchase requirement” for food stamps (Ohls & Beebout, 1993, p. 16). Up to this time, food stamp recipients, received an eligibility card in the mail and would take the card to specific locations, usually banks or credit unions, and purchase

⁷⁷ For detailed histories of anti-hunger efforts see: *Feeding Hungry People: Rulemaking in the Food Stamp Program* (Berry); *Breadlines Knee-Deep in Wheat* (Poppendieck, 2014); *Let them Eat Promises* (Kotz, 1971); *The Food Stamp Program: Design Tradeoffs, Policy, and Impacts* (Ohls & Beebout, 1993); *Hunger and Food Assistance Policy in the United States* (Galer-Unti, 1995); *The Food Stamp Program: A Legislative History* (Fishbein, 1977); and, *Food Stamp Act of 1977: Report together with supplemental views, dissenting views, minority views, additional views*: report no. 95-464 (U.S. House of Representatives, 1977). For a detailed discussion of the 2014 farm bill see, *Framing the Farm Bill: Interest, Ideology, and the Agriculture Act of 2014* (Bosso, 2017 in publication).

food stamp coupons by paying 50 to 60 cents for each one dollar coupon. A coupon book with a face value of ten dollars could be purchased for between five and six dollars. The difference between what the person paid and the face value of the coupon was the food stamp benefit. The argument for removing the purchase requirement was that it placed an undue burden on the poor. People with little money to begin with, had to use some of their resources to get the benefit. Despite on-going efforts, the previous two years by the Ford Administration to cut food stamp rolls by changing eligibility requirements (Hicks, 1975b), the Food Stamp Act of 1977 was passed once Jimmy Carter was elected. Now, individuals simply received the difference between what they had been paying for food stamp coupons and the allotment or benefit they received. If they previously paid six dollars for ten dollars of food stamps, they now received four dollars in food stamps as their allotment (Berry, 1984) p. 91-95.

3.7.2 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996

While hunger may have been nearly eradicated by 1977, it was back by 1982 (Physician's Task Force on Hunger in America, 1985, p.12). At the same time, a public opinion backlash against welfare, in general, took shape in the 1980's (Shapiro, 2009, p. 4). In Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign he pledged to "end welfare as we know." In the mid-term elections of 1994, Republicans gained control of the House of Representatives after 40 years of Democrat control and regained control of the Senate. They quickly began work on implementing their "Contract with America," one element of which was welfare reform. Republicans did not seek to change the food stamp program in the 1996 farm bill, the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996. Instead, they made food stamp changes part of their overall welfare reform effort contained in the Personal

Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. These changes revoked eligibility for legal immigrants, which was expected to cut 1.2 million people from the food stamp rolls, and cut another 800,00 people by limiting benefits for able bodied adults (Janofsky, 1995). In his signing statement August 22, 1996, Bill Clinton boasted that he had fulfilled his pledge and that this legislation was part of “ending welfare as we know it” (Clinton, 96). What is noteworthy in these changes is the fact that they took place outside of the 1996 farm bill, demonstrating that changes to the program (either increase or decrease) do not have to take place within the confines of a farm bill.

3.7.3 Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008

The 2002 farm bill, The Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 restored some of the eligibility for legal immigrants that had been taken away in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, the 2008 farm bill, continued the trend of expanding food stamp benefits. By reducing certain limitations and increasing benefit amounts, the 2008 farm bill represented an increase of close to eight billion dollars over ten years (Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, 2008). It also contained a provision changing the name of the Food Stamp Act of 1977 and the food stamp program to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). This change was not initiated at the request of the Bush Administration. The author of this change may have been Representative Joe Baca (D-California), who was the ranking member of the House of Representatives, Agriculture Committee, Subcommittee on Nutrition and Horticulture.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The author was an employee of the Department of Agriculture at the time the 2008 farm bill was passed. At that time, he was told that Representative Baca was the author of the change but he has been able to confirm that through any independent sources. The key point is that to the best of the author’s knowledge, the Department of Agriculture did not initiate this change.

President Bush did veto the bill, but he did so because Congress' version of the bill included increasing the rates for subsidy payments for certain crops and adding new crops to receive subsidies (Bush, 2008). When he vetoed the bill, he made no mention of the food stamp increases (ibid.). The veto was overridden (Chite, 2014, p. 4). However, due to a rare clerical error, the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, (PL 110-234), which was passed in the override vote did not include the Trade title (title III).⁷⁹ To correct the situation, Congress repealed PL 110-234, added title III to the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 and sent it to the President for signature. President Bush again vetoed the bill, and again Congress overrode the veto, and the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 became PL 110-246. It should be noted that these unusual circumstances created significant opportunities to make changes to SNAP/food stamps, but neither the President or Congress took advantage of these opportunities.

3.7.4 The Agriculture Act of 2014

Between the passage of the 2008 farm bill in June of 2008 and its expiration in 2013, two key events occurred. First, the country experienced what has been called the “Great Recession,” which officially lasted from December 2008 through June 2009.⁸⁰ The second event was the passage of the Budget Control Act of 2011, which authorized a process known as “sequestration.” Beginning in 2013 hard limits were placed on discretionary spending. These limits represented cuts totaling \$109 billion dollars a year

⁷⁹ The titles in a farm bill are major sections. SNAP and all nutrition related programs are included in title IV Nutrition. Leaving out a title is a significant error that has to be corrected.

⁸⁰ “A recession is a significant decline in activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, visible in industrial production, employment, real income, and wholesale-retail sales. A recession begins just after the economy reaches a peak of activity and ends as the economy reaches its trough. Between trough and peak, the economy is in an expansion. Expansion is the normal state of the economy; most recessions are brief and they have been rare in recent decades” (Hall et al., 2016).

through 2021. The Cuts are divided evenly between defense and domestic discretionary budgets. Discretionary spending is spending that must be approved each year through the appropriations process. If Congress were to approve appropriations greater than the limits, the cuts would automatically be imposed. Mandatory funding for programs such as SNAP/food stamps is exempt from the budget limits (caps) established by the Budget Control Act. Though the SNAP/food stamps were not directly impacted by cuts, the 2008 farm bill expired in 2013 just as the budget process was being roiled by the first of the sequestration cuts. In the chaos of sequestration and the government shutdown during the first 16 days of the fiscal year 2013, a new farm bill could not be passed. The motivation to pass a farm bill is strong. The Agriculture Act of 1949 is the “permanent law” for agriculture policy. The farm bills that have been passed since then are amendments of this law. If a farm bill lapses, then the provisions of the 1949 law will take effect, and agriculture policy reverts to the 1949 rules and subsidy payment levels. To avoid this, Congress included a one-year extension of the 2008 farm bill in the American Taxpayer Relief Act, PL 112-240.

The Senate Democrats agreeing to the one-year extension may have been a tactical mistake, one that the Republicans in the House exploited. By July of 2013, the number of SNAP recipients was at a historical high. At the same time, the House passed the Federal Agriculture Reform and Risk Management Act of 2013 (HR 1974), which was essentially a farm bill without any provision for SNAP. Between July of 2013 and January of 2014 Senate Democrats worked to get SNAP restored to the farm bill. Their leverage was that they would not pass the farm bill and therefore impact the farming sector. It was a battle between the urban and rural collations that had been party to the

farm bill since at least 1973 (Ripley, p. 9). Perhaps because they had been alarmed at the proposal to separate SNAP from the farm bill and make it stand alone, as negotiations played out Democrats seemed resigned to accepting some cuts to avoid more significant reductions (Chokshi, 2014). Republican's zeroed in on what they saw as a "loophole" in the way 15 States were computing recipient's expenses that resulted in people receiving a higher SNAP benefit. In simple terms, by providing any amount (sometimes only a \$1) of Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program aid to individuals meant they could qualify the "Standard Utility Allowance," would make the person eligible for a higher SNAP benefit (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015). To close this so-called "heat and eat" loophole, Republican's proposed raising to \$20 the minimum amount of aid that a State needs to provide an individual for a person to qualify for the "Standard Utility Allowance." It was estimated that 4% of all SNAP recipients would be affected by this change and that it would save approximately eight billion dollars over ten years. When the 2014 Agriculture Act was passed containing this cut, the President, the chairwoman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator Stabenow, and leading anti-hunger advocates all praised the bill (Chokshi, 2014; Obama, 2014; Stabenow, 2014). Senator Stabenow's comments are revealing. She praised the bill saying it "achieves savings in food assistance solely by stopping fraud and misuse (ending Heat and Eat, ed.) while maintaining support for families in need (ibid.). Greenstein, an anti-hunger advocate, argued:

The proposed farm bill conference agreement announced today represents a relatively favorable outcome for SNAP and most of the millions of low-income Americans who rely on it, especially in light of what might have occurred or what may occur if Congress rejects this agreement and leaves it to the next Congress to write its own farm bill.

To be sure, the conference agreement does include \$8.6 billion in SNAP cuts over the next decade. Yet it stands in sharp contrast to the nearly \$40 billion in SNAP cuts in the House-passed bill of September, which contained an array of draconian provisions and would have thrown 3.8 million people off SNAP in 2014 (emphasis supplied, ed.), according to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). The conference agreement includes none of the draconian House provisions — and it removes virtually no low-income households from SNAP.

The SNAP cut that remains is a provision to tighten an element of the SNAP benefit calculation that some states have converted into what most people would view as a loophole. Specifically, some states are stretching the benefit formula in a way that enables them not only to simplify paperwork for many SNAP households, but also to boost SNAP benefits for some SNAP households by assuming those households pay several hundred dollars a month in utility costs that they do *not* actually incur. Congress did not intend for states to stretch the benefit rules this way, and longstanding SNAP supporters like myself find it difficult to defend. Moreover, a future Administration could close off this use of the rules administratively, without any Congressional action (Greenstein, 2014).

The question that arises from this is, if anti-hunger advocates support it, if the senator most responsible for the bill, and the President praise it for eliminating “fraud and misuse,” doesn’t this validate the “scam” and “loophole” frames? How can there be a “disconnect” if the editorial boards of the newspapers in question are merely echoing the criticisms originating from the policymakers? This project will explore that question later, but for now, consider that the roles of the media/journalists and policymakers are different. The First Amendment implies that our Founding Fathers expected the press to inform the public. This paper argues that this function includes ensuring that, using some of the definitions developed here, connections between problems and policy tools are made visible, especially when policy makers either inadvertently or intentionally obscure the connections. Just because a policymaker does not make the connection does not

mean it does not exist or that the press should not bring it to light. Speaking of the welfare reforms in 1996, Senator Wellstone (D-MN), observed:

Democrats are telling themselves that the budget, as much as they know about it, could be worse. As Wellstone says, "Just because you go from the God-awful to the merely awful, you're supposed to call it a victory -- and I can't do that. (McGrory, 1997)"

If the Republican's passing a bill without SNAP lowered the bar so low (the God-awful) that Democrats accepted cuts (the awful) instead of pursuing alternatives that directly address the problem (hunger) and not a policy tool problem, how should the media respond? Is it the media's responsibility to make alternatives visible? For instance, one alternative was offered by Harvard economist J. Larry Brown in 2008. He calculated that charities spend \$14 billion fighting hunger (Vedantam, 2008). Given the savings the federal government could achieve because of economies of scale, he determined that increasing SNAP funding by \$12 billion would "end" the hunger problem and generate savings to the philanthropists, volunteers and others who were paying the cost of charity efforts (ibid.). Could Democrats have responded to pressures to cut SNAP in 2014 by countering with a proposal to increase SNAP by \$12 billion? Perhaps, but since the Brown study had been published and it directly addressed the *problem* of hunger, does the media have the responsibility to at least ask the question as to whether or not it is a viable alternative? With the definitions provided by the project, we can at least ask the question.

As a side note to the bill's attack on fraud and misuse, twelve States were quick to respond by increasing the amount of assistance they provided to the \$20

minimum. Even Tom Corbett, a conservative Republican governor of Pennsylvania was willing to pay \$8 million in additional heating assistance ensure that approximately 400,000 SNAP recipients in his State wouldn't see their benefits reduced (Wilson, 2014a). Should the media simply accept that they are "scamming" the system? Or should the media ask, "why are they doing this?" "What *problem* are they addressing in preserving the benefits through 'heat and eat?'"

Chapter 4. Research Questions and Methods

4.1 Research Questions

Anti-hunger advocates claim that, unlike the late 1960s, the media today are not accurately or adequately informing the public as to the scope, nature, and effects of the problem of hunger in America. The media's support of cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in 2014 at a time when the need for such assistance was at a historic high seems to lend credence to these claims and raises significant questions.

What is the relationship between a problem and policy? What exactly is meant by "informing" the public, especially with regard to policy? How does one assess how well the media is performing this informative function? Through the following research questions, this dissertation seeks to address these broad media-policy questions by exploring the relationship between the media frames of the problem of hunger and anti-hunger policies at key points in the past 55 years of anti-hunger policy in America.

4.1.1 Research Question 1

RQ 1: How do problem frames of hunger and policy tool frames appearing in the media differ prior to passage of the four policy tools under consideration: The Food Stamp Act of 1977; the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996;⁸¹ the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008; and, the Agriculture Act of 2014? As the "declaration of policy" contained in the Food Stamp Act of 1977 makes

⁸¹The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWOR) is often mistakenly called the Welfare Reform Act of 1996. There is no such law titled the "Welfare Reform Act of 1996." While one cannot be certain, it is most likely that those using the name "Welfare Reform Act of 1996" are actually referring to PRWOR. This confusion is probably caused by the fact that PRWOR did make changes to many "welfare" programs, and PRWOR was touted by President Bill Clinton as the culmination of his effort to "end welfare as we know it" (Clinton, 1996).

clear, the food stamp policy tool (now supplemental nutrition assistance program or SNAP) was intended to address the problem of hunger:

Congress hereby finds that the limited food purchasing power of low-income households contributes to hunger and malnutrition among members of such households. . . . To alleviate such hunger and malnutrition, a food stamp program is herein authorized which will permit low-income households to obtain a more nutritious diet through normal channels of trade by increasing food purchasing power for all eligible households who apply for participation. (p. 958)

This question examines whether or not the problem and policy tool frames that appeared in the media prior to the passage of the Food Stamp Act of 1977 and the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, which both increased nutrition assistance differ from the problem frames appearing before passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and the Agriculture Act of 2014, which both reduced assistance. Anti-hunger advocates claim that the media's role in raising awareness of hunger in American has changed from the late 1960s to the present. The media were seen as raising awareness of hunger in the late 1960s and viewed as ignoring the historically high levels of need leading up to the passage of the Agriculture Act of 2014, which cut assistance. The media's support of cuts to SNAP in 2014 when the need for SNAP was at a historic high implies a "disconnect" between the policy tool (SNAP) and the problem (hunger) it was intended to address. At a base level, it is useful to determine if hunger frames affirm or dispute the existence of hunger and if the problem of hunger is present in stories with a policy tool problem frame. A more refined way to explore this apparent disconnect is to determine if a disconnect exists between the problem frames of hunger and the policy tool of SNAP/food stamps over time and across four different policy tools. Do articles link the policy tool problem frames of SNAP/food

stamps to the problem of hunger, which it was intended to relieve? Are the problem and policy tool frames consistent over time regardless of the policy tool increasing or decreasing assistance? Or, do they differ over time? Do they harmonize with the policy tool increasing or decreasing assistance? For example, do problem frames of hunger appear before the passage of policy tools cutting benefits? More importantly, do problem frames with a tone of “hunger exists” appear before the passage of policy tools cutting benefits? With the SNAP/food stamp legislation being the dependent variable and hunger problem frames and policy tool frames being the independent variables, the following hypothesis will be explored:

1. H1. In the quarter before the passage of legislation (a policy tool) that increases benefits, the number of hunger problem frames will be greater than SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames, and SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames will be greater when the legislation decreases benefits.
2. H2. There is a positive correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “Save SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.
3. H3. There is a negative correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “Save SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.
4. H4. There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.
5. H5. There is a positive correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.
6. H6. There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.
7. H7. There is a negative correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.

4.1.2 Research Question 2

RQ 2: Are the social constructions of target groups in the media frames of the problem of hunger different from the social constructions of target groups in the media frames of the policy tool?

Ingram, Schnieder and deLeon argue that if a policy is targeted to provide a benefit to a politically powerful “deserving” population such as the middle class (“advantaged”), it is more likely to be enacted than a policy targeted toward benefiting a politically weak population such as the poor (“dependents”) (2007, p. 101). Conversely, a policy that places a burden on the target population of a decrease in benefits is more likely to pass if the target population is “weak” such as the poor. This question examines if there is a greater correlation between the passage of a policy tool when social constructions located in the problem frames and policy tool frames are the same, or when they are different. When are they different, which frame, problem or policy tool, contains the social construction that is consistent with the social construction framework’s expectation that one construction would lead to an increase in benefits and the other a decrease? Making these determinations would be a refinement of the social construction framework theory, which positions constructions within “policy” and does not make a distinction between problem frames and policy tool frames. With “cut SNAP/Food Stamps” meta tone in SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames identifying the target social construction as either “dependent” or “advantaged” as the independent variable and the nutrition legislation as the dependent variable, the following hypotheses will be explored.

1. H8. There is a positive correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame identifying the target social construction as “dependents” when the legislation decreases benefits.

2. H9. There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame identifying the target social construction as “advantaged” when the legislation increases benefits.

4.1.3 Research Question 3

RQ 3: The sources cited in stories related to the problem of hunger or the policy tool of food stamps/SNAP play different roles in the policy process. There are recipients of benefits, members of Congress, State and local officials, academics, members of non-governmental organizations, and so forth.⁸² What roles are performed by the sources cited before and after the relevant policy tool’s passage?

The policy literature notes that frames are strategically constructed and contested, making the source used in constructing frames important (Chong & Druckman, 2007b, p. 102; Gandy, 2014, p. 2). Sources cited in news stories are a significant element in the construction of the frames. The most obvious way to categorize sources would be to identify their political orientation. However, such a breakdown seems based on a notion that “politics causes policies” and does not capture the subtleties of Lowi’s view of the policy process that “policy causes politics” (2014, p. xii). For example, shortly after passage of the Agriculture Act of 2014, which cuts benefits, Governor Tom Corbett of Pennsylvania, a self-described conservative Republican, took action to immediately restore SNAP benefits to those whose benefits were reduced by the Republican-led Congress. Political orientation does not capture the apparent disconnect between a conservative Congress cutting benefits and a conservative Republican governor restoring them. A better categorization would be one based on the roles of the parties involved in the process. Such a categorization not only captures the apparent disconnect above but

⁸² Appendix H provides the codebook to be employed in this project and contains a full list of the source categories to be coded.

allows for a categorization of sources that are not easily classified by political orientation such as recipients of food stamps/SNAP, academics, and the heads of non-profit organizations. It is more informative to determine if the media frames of either the policy problem of hunger or the SNAP/food stamp policy tool cite sources from one group more than the other. If so, which group is cited more when benefits are increased or decreased? Is one group of sources cited more in problem frames, policy tool frames, or both? A companion question to this is whether or not there a correlation between the political party having the majority in either the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate and the passage of anti-hunger policies that increase or decrease assistance? Was one group of sources cited more frequently when a different party was in control of Congress? Is one group of sources cited in stories with a particular tone?

4.1.4 Research Question 4

RQ 4: How do these newly defined, collectively exhaustive, and mutually exclusive framing categories defined in this project relate to the journalistic function of informing the public about policy? Specifically, how can they advance a critique of the media beyond a simple statement of “the media is not informing the public,” to a more precise description of exactly what is meant by informing the public about policy.

This research question tackles the apparent stalemate in the conversation as to how well the media is meeting its responsibility to inform the public. Critiques such as those by anti-hunger groups that the media focuses on charities and not government being a solution to hunger (Berg, 2012, 2013a; Egger, 2013), or the portrayal of hunger as a sterile “budget” issue as opposed to a “human” issue (Cooney, 2013; Freedman, August 10, 2012) portray the media’s coverage as inadequately “informing” the public. What

they do not do is address is the dilemma faced by journalists who must acknowledge information from other sources such as those arguing that the SNAP/food stamp program is rife with fraud, costs too much, and is funding lobster dinners for someone who does not want to work. By using the categories established in this project one can explain the difference between a problem (hunger) and of a policy tool's tone (fraud or waste). What the anti-hunger critiques are saying is that while the policy tool may have a negative tone, the journalist should not lose sight of the connection between the policy tool and the problem of hunger the tool was designed to address. Fraud, waste, and high cost are *not* problems; they are policy tool problems. It is not possible within the limits of this project to definitively assert that focusing exclusively on policy tool problems and failing to maintain the connection of the policy tool to the problem of hunger results in the public being misinformed. However, it is possible to state that the policy categories presented in this project allow for a more refined discussion as to what it means to "inform" the public.

Finally, unlike the existing categories in the media and policy literature of *issue*, *policy*, and *problem*, the categories proposed by this project provide collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive definitions that are applicable to any study of public policy. Their usage can address the difficulties caused by inconsistency in the definition of terms, which leads to an inability to compare different study results. For example, the Merolla, et al. study of media framing of immigration suggests, "that efforts to focus on the terms used to describe immigrants have limited effect, and that efforts to frame policy offer greater promise in swaying public opinion on immigration." (2013, p. 789). They concluded that equivalent frames of immigrants as "illegal" or "undocumented" did not

influence the subject's acceptance of an immigration policy. However, framing a policy as being an "amnesty" did generate a significantly negative response to the policy. Their results can be restated using the categories defined in this project. It can be said that media frames of the "problem" (illegal or undocumented immigrants) had a weaker "effect"⁸³ than frames of the "policy goal," amnesty, resulting in greater support for a policy tool that does not grant amnesty. There is also an application to Baumgartner et al.'s work on the death penalty (Baumgartner, et al., 2008). The death penalty is a policy tool. The execution of innocent persons was a condition, which by exposure in the media became a problem. There appears to be a correlation between sufficient exposure of this problem, the "discovery of innocence," to the decrease in the utilization of the policy tool, executions. This would seem to demonstrate one type of media-policy relationship, the exposure or increasing exposure of a problem and a policy tool response.

4.2 Methods

This dissertation uses quantitative and qualitative content analysis to examine the media coverage of hunger in America and that coverage's relationship to the food stamp and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Programs (SNAP, formerly the food stamp program). The SNAP/food stamp program was chosen because of its long history and status as the single largest nutrition program. Regarding expenditures, the SNAP/food stamp program has always represented the largest expenditure of any nutrition program (House Ways and Means Committee, 1994). Appendix I shows that of the 1.380 trillion dollars that have been spent on the four largest nutrition programs between 1969 and

⁸³ Merolla, et al. operationalize "effect" as being a stronger preference of one piece of legislation over the other (2013, p. 799).

2015, 1.109 trillion dollars or over 80% were spent funding the SNAP/food stamp programs. According to the latest data available, SNAP/food stamp expenditures have been as high as 76% and not lower than 65% of all the money spent on nutrition programs from 2006 through 2015 (Office of Budget and Program Analysis, 2015). Identifying media frames associated with hunger and SNAP/food stamps links the problem (hunger) to SNAP, the most significant policy tool designed to alleviate that problem. Therefore, the SNAP policy tool is the dependent variable in this project.

4.2.1 Sample Selection

One of the more significant decisions that can be made in any research project is that of sample selection. Probability sampling is the random selection of a sample from the target population, and nonprobability or purposive sampling is “sampling in which the researcher makes a decision as to what cases are deemed appropriate to include in the sample” (Neuendorf, 2017, pp. 84, 89). Choosing the sampling technique for this project was influenced by several factors.

4.2.1.1 Legislation to Be Studied

This study employs a new method of identifying or categorizing frames and seeks to determine if connection between problem and policy tool that exists in the real world is present in the media discussions of these topics. At this point, determining the validity of the categorizations developed is as important as determining their generalizability. There are many factors other than media coverage that can affect the final passage of a piece of legislation and this is especially true of SNAP/food stamp legislation, which has existed in one form or another for the past 55 years. To provide the best opportunity for doing a preliminary test of the categorization of policy and in instances that would reflect the

diverse time-periods in which anti-hunger legislation has been adopted, a conscious decision was made to employ a purposive sample rather than a probability sample. It is recognized that doing limits the generalizability of the results of this study. However, the structure of the sample is intended to test what are believed to be some of the more significant elements of the legislation. Specifically, for comparative purposes, two of the bills chosen resulted in the most significant increases to the SNAP/food stamp program, and two of them represent the most significant cuts or decreases in benefits. The four bills selected also span a period of 41 years (1975 to 2016), which means the bills studied are more likely to have been adopted in a period where there were differences in the parties in control of the different bodies of Congress and in times where the economic situation may have been different.

To capture the evolution of frames, the project examines the media frames present two years before and two years after passage of four key pieces of legislation affecting the SNAP/food stamp program:

1. 1975 – 1979: The Food Stamp Act of 1977, which eliminated the purchase requirement for food stamps;
2. 1994 - 1998: the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, which limited benefits for able bodied adults without dependents and revoked eligibility for legal immigrants as part of “ending welfare as we know it” (Clinton, 1996);
3. 2006 – 2010: the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 which increased SNAP spending by “\$10.2 billion over the next ten years” (Congressional Research Service, 2008, p. 22); and,
4. 2012 – 2016: The Agriculture Act of 2014, which reduced benefits by \$10 billion dollars over ten years.

4.2.1.2 Selection of Media Sources

The source of media frames was also the result of a nonprobability sample. It was decided to examine the media frames of hunger and SNAP/food stamps contained in the three major media outlets: *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post*. These newspapers were chosen for two reasons. First, they were all unified in their support of cuts to SNAP in 2014 at a time when the need for food assistance was at a historic level of almost 15% of all Americans. Second, for twenty-three years the author's job as a federal employee involved duties that allowed him to see what media sources the senior management of the Department of Agriculture and Congress, especially the House and Senate Agriculture Committees desired to monitor on a regular basis. These three media outlets were the most consistently identified as being important to monitor.

With respect to media sources, it might be asked if interviewing editors or journalists would better inform the results of the study. To be candid, such interviews were not contemplated for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the time and effort required to obtain the "human subjects" review documentation. However, it should be pointed out that such interviews may have been of less value before the results of this study were obtained than they would be once this initial study is done and there are results that can form the basis of such interviews. In short, the questions that could have been asked of editors or journalists would have been vague and of little value in guiding an informative discussion. Too much time would have been spent speculating on potential results or connections. Whereas once the results of this project are obtained, such conversations can focus on tangible results, which should result in a more

informative discussion. It is acknowledged that such interviews should be part of any follow-on study now that there are specific results to guide the conversation.

A similar logic applies to why television news, radio, and blogs were not used as sources for this initial attempt to test the appropriateness of the categorizations of policy that were developed for this project. Obviously, often the more data one can collect the more robust the results.⁸⁴ However, without the results of this project, it is unclear what criteria would be employed to identify a story as either a problem or policy tool frame.⁸⁵ Finally, there is the ever-present issue of limited time and resources. Given all these considerations, it was decided to focus on the three sources previously identified, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*.

4.2.2 Selection of Stories

The initial plan was to use LexisNexis Academic to search each media outlet for the periods of 1994 to 1998, 2006 to 2010, and 2012 to 2016, to identify stories that include either “hunger,” “hungry,” “hunger in America,” “SNAP,” “supplemental nutrition assistance program,” “food security,” “food insecurity.” And “food stamps” as major topics. Because objective was to identify stories with a specific “central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Tankard, 2003, p. 100), it was decided to

⁸⁴ Blogs pose special challenges. First, they were not in existence during the entire 55-year history of the nutrition programs. Second, blogs associated with newspapers, especially the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* are often duplicates of the same story published in the hard copy or online version of the paper. The only difference is that sometimes the title in the blog is slightly different than that attached to the article when it is “published” in the hard copy or online version of the paper. this researcher encountered instances where the key word “hunger” appeared the blog title of the article, but not in the hard copy and online version. This adds an additional level of complexity to determining to use such data.

⁸⁵ This topic will be discussed in section 6.5 of this paper.

limit the number of stories reviewed in such a way that would focus on those that potentially were hunger or SNAP/food stamp frames. To do this, the selection of stories relied on the fact that the journalistic form or convention of the “inverted pyramid” dictates that the lead sentence or paragraph contains the “most important information” of a story (Pottker, 2003, p. 502). For this reason, searches would be limited to occurrences of the key search terms in either the headline or the first three paragraphs. While it is possible that some stories may ignore this convention, and contain the focus of the story beyond the headline or first three paragraphs, the effort required to identify them, especially with regard to a word such as “hunger” was deemed to outweigh the potential benefit of their inclusion in the project. For this reason, they are not included in the search parameters.

Focusing on the headline or first three paragraphs was accomplished using the LexisNexis “HLEAD” search command. “HLEAD” identifies stories where the keyword or words appear either in the headline of the story or within the first three paragraphs.⁸⁶ Because LexisNexis Academic does not contain newspaper articles for 1975 to 1979, period, the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database would be searched. The search

⁸⁶ LexisNexis Academic online documentation (<http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/lnacui2api/auth/checkbrowser.do?ipcounter=1&cookieState=0&rand=0.1252812575599085&bhjs=1&bhqs=1>) defines HLEAD as the headline and/or the “first portion of the body” of a document. “Body” is defined as the entire text of the document. What is meant by “first portion” of the body is not defined anywhere in the documentation. However, Earnolynn Smith, an information professional consultant with LexisNexis Academic, has told this author that based on her years of experience, “first portion” includes up to the third paragraph in a text body. A rough random review of the articles retrieved using the HLEAD command for each of the four time periods in the study has found stories where the key word did not appear in the headline but did appear in the third paragraph of the article. During the final review of all articles, the key words were actually found to appear in the fourth and sometimes fifth paragraph of some articles. It was not possible to determine why this occurred.

would use the AB (abstract) field code to identify the key search terms in the abstract, which is comparable to the HLEAD function of LexisNexis Academic.

To test for the potential volume of material to be coded, test searches were conducted of LexisNexis Academic for the 2012 to 2016, period. This period was chosen because the LexisNexis Academic contains all stories from all the sources for that period. The initial search used the key terms “hunger,” “hungry,” “hunger within five words of America,” “food insecure,” and “food security.” Hunger is an obvious keyword. Food insecure is the term that has been used to indicate some level of the condition commonly known as hunger. Food security was included in the search because occasionally the author has seen the phrase, “a person’s food security is threatened” as an indicator of hunger. After the initial search, a random selection of stories was reviewed to identify specific terms that should be excluded from searches. Terms such as “games” and the names of countries were identified so that stories about the movie “the Hunger Games” or hunger not in America would not be captured by the search. This process of searching and identifying terms was repeated several times and involved several discussions with a LexisNexis professional consultant to confirm that the syntax of the search string was correct.⁸⁷ Table 5, shows the final search string employed and the number of stories that were retrieved once the search string was refined. The same iterative process was used in searching for the presence of the key terms “SNAP” or “food stamps.”⁸⁸ Table 6, lists the results of those searches.

⁸⁷ The author is grateful to Ms. Earnolyn Smith, a LexisNexis information professional for her patience and assistance.

⁸⁸ Even though the Food, Conservation, and Energy of 2008 changed the name of the Food Stamp program to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), sources and even journalists continue to

Table 5. Number of Hunger, Food Insecure or Food Security Articles Retrieved from LexisNexis Academic—1/1/2012 to 1/1/2016

Search String	(((HLEAD(hungry or hunger) OR HLEAD(hunger W/5 child*) OR HLEAD(hungry OR hunger W/5 America*) OR HLEAD(food security OR food insecure)))) AND NOT (Latin OR games OR strike OR spiritual OR Sex OR global OR Jamaica OR Africa OR famine OR India OR china OR sandy OR Sudan OR Haiti OR Italy OR Sri OR Iraq OR north Korea OR Burma OR bats OR whales OR Thailand OR Malaysia OR IRAN OR Afghanistan) AND NOT (hungry W/1 travelers OR readers OR horse OR band* OR worker* OR information OR investors OR returns OR world OR power OR heart) AND NOT (hungry W/2 power OR money OR cash OR risk OR bandwidth OR answers OR change OR fee OR income) AND NOT (hunger W/2 risk) AND NOT (world W/1 hunger)	(Same as HLEAD search string with the exception that the term HLEAD is omitted in all cases.)
<i>New York Times</i>	398	963
<i>Washington Post</i>	364	776
<i>USA Today</i>	79	172
Total	841	1,911

Table 6. Number of SNAP and Food Stamp Articles Retrieved from LexisNexis Academic—1/1/2012 to 1/1/2016

1/1/2012 to 1/1/2016	SNAP/Food Stamps - Headline and Lead Paragraph	SNAP/Food Stamps - All Stories
Search String	(((HLEAD(ALLCAPS SNAP or food stamp*) OR HLEAD(supplemental nutrition assistance program))))	((ALLCAPS SNAP OR food stamp*) OR (supplemental nutrition assistance program))
<i>New York Times</i>	174	971
<i>Washington Post</i>	157	764
<i>USA Today</i>	30	166
Total	361	1,901

mistakenly refer to SNAP and its benefits as “food stamps.” The erroneous use of the term “food stamps” even extends to the Pulitzer Prize Committee, whose 2014 Explanatory Reporting Award states, “Awarded to Eli Saslow of *The Washington Post* for his unsettling and nuanced reporting on the prevalence of *food stamps* (emphasis added, Ed.) in post-recession America, forcing readers to grapple with issues of poverty and dependency.” For this reason, any search for stories after 2008 should still use “food stamp*” as a key search term.

Table 7, shows the results of the searches described above for the four periods under study: 1975 to 1979, 1994 to 1998, 2006 to 2010, and 2012 to 2016. The search of the 1975 to 1979 period did not include *USA Today* because *USA Today* did not begin publication until 1982. These 4,104 articles formed the based set of articles to be coded

Table 7. Total Hunger and SNAP/Food Stamp Articles Constituting the Body of Articles Analyzed for Each Time Period of the Study

((HLEAD(hungry or hunger) OR HLEAD(hunger W/5 child*) OR HLEAD(hungry OR hunger W/5 America*) OR HLEAD(food security OR food insecure)))) AND NOT (Latin OR games OR strike OR spiritual OR Sex OR global OR Jamaica OR Africa OR famine OR India OR china OR sandy OR Sudan OR Haiti OR Italy OR Sri OR Iraq OR north Korea OR Burma OR bats OR whales OR Thailand OR Malaysia OR IRAN OR Afghanistan) AND NOT (hungry W/1 travelers OR readers OR horse OR band* OR worker* OR information OR investors OR returns OR world OR power OR heart) AND NOT (hungry W/2 power OR money OR cash OR risk OR bandwidth OR answers OR change OR fee OR income) AND NOT (hunger W/2 risk) AND NOT (world W/1 hunger)	02/07/ 2012 to 02/07/ 2016	06/18/ 2006 to 06/18/ 2010	08/22/ 1994 to 08/22/ 1998	09/29/ 1975 to 09/29/ 1979*
<i>New York Times</i>	398	347	376	231
<i>Washington Post</i>	364	307	268	264
<i>USA Today</i>	79	75	123	**
Total	841	729	767	495
((HLEAD(ALLCAPS SNAP or food stamp*) OR HLEAD(supplemental nutrition assistance program)))				
<i>New York Times</i>	174	120	186	122
<i>Washington Post</i>	157	85	188	155
<i>USA Today</i>	30	18	37	* *
Total	361	223	411	277

*Articles for the 1975 to 1979 period are retrieved from the ProQuest Historical Newspaper Database

**USA Today did not begin publication until 1982.

for this project. The hunger articles were reviewed first. It quickly became apparent that while the search string contained a significant number of exclusions, it still retrieved articles of no interest to this project. Many restaurant reviews, stories of hungry airline passengers, and the company “Hungry Girl,” and so forth were not eliminated by the search string. The articles with “hunger” in the headline or first three paragraphs (LexisNexis) or contained the Abstract (ProQuest) were individually reviewed to eliminate these obviously non-relevant articles. The same type of review was performed on the SNAP/food stamp articles. Articles, where SNAP/food stamps were only mentioned once or were tangential to the story such as being named as just one of many welfare programs, were eliminated from consideration. This review resulted in the 1,474 shown in Table 8 that were of potential interest to the project and subjected to initial coding by the author.

This set of articles required additional review for two reasons. First, this project’s research questions relate to frames constructed by the media editorial boards or news journalists. The focus is on the connection or lack of connection that exists in articles generated by journalists or editorial boards, who represent the view of the paper’s management. Items such as letters to the editor or opinion pieces written by regular or guest columnists such as Eugene Robinson and Charles Krauthammer are not articles or frames that are created by the newspaper’s staff or its management. They may have some value in terms of reinforcing frames, but it is not clear that because an opinion columnist or letter writer makes a connection between problem and policy tool that journalists or the newspaper’s management make the same connection. For this reason, such items were excluded from the study and only editorials prepared by the media organization’s

Table 8. Total Hunger and SNAP/Food Stamp Articles Subjected to Initial Coding (1,474)

((HLEAD(hungry or hunger) OR HLEAD(hunger W/5 child*) OR HLEAD(hungry OR hunger W/5 America*) OR HLEAD(food security OR food insecure)))) AND NOT (Latin OR games OR strike OR spiritual OR Sex OR global OR Jamaica OR Africa OR famine OR India OR china OR sandy OR Sudan OR Haiti OR Italy OR Sri OR Iraq OR north Korea OR Burma OR bats OR whales OR Thailand OR Malaysia OR IRAN OR Afghanistan) AND NOT (hungry W/1 travelers OR readers OR horse OR band* OR worker* OR information OR investors OR returns OR world OR power OR heart) AND NOT (hungry W/2 power OR money OR cash OR risk OR bandwidth OR answers OR change OR fee OR income) AND NOT (hunger W/2 risk) AND NOT (world W/1 hunger)	02/07/2012 to 02/07/2016	06/18/2006 to 06/18/2010	08/22/1994 to 08/22/1998	09/29/1975 to 09/29/1979
<i>New York Times</i>	42	39	53	36
<i>Washington Post</i>	76	36	54	33
<i>USA Today</i>	16	14	16	*
Total	134	86	123	69
((HLEAD(ALLCAPS SNAP or food stamp*) OR HLEAD(supplemental nutrition assistance program))))				
<i>New York Times</i>	144	107	147	110
<i>Washington Post</i>	95	63	169	153
<i>USA Today</i>	23	16	35	*
Total	262	186	351	263

*USA Today did not begin publication until 1982.

editorial board or news story were coded. Including these materials could be beneficial in follow-on studies, but they don't fall within the focus of this project. Second, it is not possible to construct search strings that will only identify the specific articles of interest without the potential that some relevant articles would not be captured in the search. The decision was made to employ search strings that may capture not only letters to the

editor, opinion pieces, but restaurant reviews, simple notices that food stamps were available at a particular bank,⁸⁹ volunteer community announcements, simple announcements that votes had been taken on a bill,⁹⁰ and so forth that are not relevant. This was done to ensure that all relevant material would be captured. Therefore, the first step in coding the articles listed in Table 8, was to thoroughly review that set of articles to eliminate any of the non-relevant articles. Though there may be some concern that eliminating letters to the editor or opinion articles may influence the study, articles that are not a news story or an editorial written by the media outlet's editorial board. Letters to the editor and opinion pieces written by regular and guest columnists (n=102) represent 6% of hunger stories and 7% of SNAP/food stamp stories. Eliminating this small number of stories was not deemed detrimental to the project's validity. Once all extraneous articles were eliminated, the resulting set of articles (n=894), which is shown in Table 9, were fully coded and form the basis of the data presented in this project.

4.2.3 Coding of Stories

The desired result of the coding is to identify the problem (hunger) and policy tool (SNAP/food stamps) frames and certain characteristics associated with both. Though the set of 894 stories had been reviewed to determine if they were news articles or editorials and whether or not they were a problem (hunger) or policy tool (SNAP/food stamp) frames, no formal code sheets had been completed. Once the 894 articles were identified,

⁸⁹ Until 1978, food stamp coupons had to be purchased by benefit recipients at specific locations, usually banks or credit unions.

⁹⁰ The announcements just state a vote was taken, not the ramifications of the vote or the opinions of one or more individuals voting. There was also a body of stories that were captured by the search string because Gingrich and Santorum used the slogan, "Obama is the food stamp president" in their campaigns to become the 2012 Republican nominee for President.

Table 9. The Final Total Number of Stories Fully Coded for the Project

Hunger, Food Insecure, Food Security in the headline or first three paragraphs (LexisNexis) or in the abstract (ProQuest)	02/07/2012 to 02/07/2016	06/18/2006 to 06/18/2010	08/22/1994 to 08/22/1998	09/29/1975 to 09/29/1979 *
<i>New York Times</i>	22	36	30	5
<i>Washington Post</i>	54	29	34	4
<i>USA Today</i>	12	11	11	**
Total	88	76	75	9
SNAP, Food Stamps or Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program in the headline or first three paragraphs (LexisNexis) or in the abstract (ProQuest)				
<i>New York Times</i>	64	60	96	104
<i>Washington Post</i>	47	21	97	116
<i>USA Today</i>	13	9	19	* *
Total	124	90	212	220

*Articles for the 1975 to 1979 period are retrieved from the ProQuest Historical Newspaper Database

**USA Today did not begin publication until 1982.

they were all coded by De Munbrun using the codebook provided in Appendix H. After coding all of the stories, a random sample of stories was created for inter-coder reliability testing. To account for the fact that the initial paring down of stories from 1,474 to 894 might have missed relevant stories, the sample consisted of five percent (n=80) of the 1,474 stories, not just the 894.

Because the study included stories from four time periods and three newspapers, the sample was structured to be certain it contained articles from each period and each paper. This was done by multiplying the number of stories given for each newspaper shown in Table 8 by 5%. For example, there were forty-two articles from the *New York*

Times identified as being hunger problem frame articles for the 2012 to 2016-time period. By multiplying the number forty-two by five percent, it was determined that the inter-coder sample should include two randomly selected *New York Times* from this period.⁹¹ This calculation was performed for each paper and time period in Table 8, and then the appropriate number of articles was randomly chosen to create the inter-coder sample. This sample was coded by a Ph.D. candidate at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism using the same codebook as the author. The candidate has experience in coding for other research projects.

Each of the articles was coded as follows:

First, articles were coded as either news story or an editorial written by the media outlet's editorial board. Any other stories, such as letters to the editor and opinion pieces by guest and regular columnists were not coded. As a check of the validity of the codebook, four opinion or Op-Ed articles were included within the 80 stories in the random sample. Inter-coder reliability for this element was 98.73%.

Second, the articles were coded as either problem frame or policy tool frame. As noted earlier, to identify whether the article's frame was a problem frame or a policy tool frame, keywords were identified by reviewing the literature, the films, and media reports of anti-hunger efforts. The terms "hunger," "hungry," "food security"⁹², and "food

⁹¹ The total number of 80 is slightly higher than 5% of 1,474, which is 73.7. The difference comes from the fact that the numbers for USA Today for example were too low to generate even one story when multiplied by 5%. USA's total of 16 hunger stories for the 2012 to 2016, time period, when multiplied by 5% is 0.8. This number was rounded up to 1 to ensure that an article from USA today would be included in the sample. Other rounding cases account for the difference between 73.7 and 80 stories.

⁹² It was noted earlier that the term "very low food security," has officially replaced the word "hunger" in official reports. It may be noticed that the search term for the hunger frame included "food security" and not "very low food security." The reason for this was an attempt to avoid over

insecure” were identified as representative of a “problem.” Articles in which hunger, hungry, food security, and food insecure appear in the headline or the first three paragraphs (LexisNexis) and abstract (ProQuest) are coded as problem frames. The terms “food stamp(s),” “Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program,” and “SNAP” all capital letters were identified as policy tool frames. Stories in which food stamps, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP appear in the headline, first three paragraphs (LexisNexis), and abstract (ProQuest) are coded as policy tool frames. If both sets of key terms appear in these locations within an article, then the number of occurrences is tallied, and the article is deemed to be the frame type represented by the term with the most occurrences. In the event that the number of occurrences was equal the story would not have been coded. There were no such instances occurring in the dataset coded for the project. Inter-coder reliability for this element was 96.25%.

Third, a problem frame is not one dimensional, meaning a problem frame article does not have to affirm that a problem exists. A problem frame can exist where the existence of the problem is disputed. An article with the title, “Hunger Does Not Exist,” and makes that point four times in the first three paragraphs is a “problem” frame article. It is a problem frame that disputes the existence of a problem. To maximize our understanding of the relationship between a problem and a policy tool intended to address it, it is important to determine the problem frame’s stance about the problem. The frame’s stance about the existence of a problem is a dimension that can and should be considered for all of the policy categories: policy, policy goal, policy tool, and policy end. In our particular case, it is important to know the stance of the policy tool frames of SNAP/food

complicating the search string. “Food security” will retrieve any “very low food security” references so it is redundant to use both terms.

stamps on hunger. Here is an example of the value of the categories and their relationship. Determining whether or not the policy tool frames affirm or dispute existence of hunger reveals significant information regarding the connection, if any, that is being made in the article between the tool and the problem. Also, to affirm or dispute the existence of hunger, the articles could be coded as the “reader decides” where the article gives equal weight to disputing or affirming. The fourth, and final category is just as important. Is the problem of hunger mentioned at all? One critique of media by the anti-hunger community is that the media do not report on the existence of hunger. Evaluating this dimension of the frame can assist us in establishing the connection between the frames and the policy tool that ultimately passed.

All this being said, once the coding began, it became clear that hunger is not a contested problem. In the 894 stories coded for this project, there were only three instances where the existence of hunger was disputed. This significantly influenced the results of the coding. Only three articles were identified as “hunger being disputed.” Only one article was identified as “reader decides” because there was only one article out of the three that disputed hunger in which a countervailing view was presented. In effect, 891 articles either affirmed the existence of hunger or hunger was not mentioned at all. What became apparent from the coding was that determining if an article “affirmed” the existence of hunger was not as important as determining whether or not hunger was mentioned in the article. The mentions of hunger are a key indicator of the observed disconnect that initiated this study in the first place. Obviously, all hunger frame stories mention hunger. But a surprising number of policy tool frames did not mention hunger, the problem the policy tool is intended to address. This will be discussed further in

Chapter 5, but it supports the notion that policy tool frames can exist independent of problem frames. It may be another indication that policy tool frame problems and not the initial or standalone problem become the focus of media coverage. Inter-coder reliability for this element was 93.67%.

Fourth, in the initial stages of the project, an attempt was made to determine if frames could be coded as affirming or disputing the “value” of SNAP/food stamps, and whether or not they cited SNAP/food stamps as a solution to the problem of hunger. After reading hundreds of articles, the author determined that these concepts were too subjective to attempt to code. In particular, it is difficult to operationalize the concept of “value.” The fact that SNAP/food stamps provide food may mean that the program has value. However, questions arise as to whether or not it is enough food or if providing it creates dependency, which means the program may not have value. The information contained in the stories coded for this project was not discrete enough to make a determination one way or the other.

Fifth, through review of the literature and reading of hundreds of newspaper articles a list of twenty-seven sources⁹³ was developed. A source was coded as being in the story if they were quoted or if they were mentioned. They were identified as sources if they were mentioned but not quoted because being mentioned linked them to an element of the story. The sources cited in each article were coded according to their role in the policy process. The inter-coder reliability of 69.62% for this element was the lowest of any element of this project. This low number is possibly due to the author’s instructions in the codebook being insufficiently clear. The author did conduct a one-hour

⁹³ See Appendix H for the full list located in the codebook.

training session with the individual performing the coding for inter-coder reliability. In reviewing the areas where that person's coding differed from the author's, it is apparent that the instructions in the codebook were not sufficiently clear as to what groups should be included under which source code. The codebook does provide samples of specific organizations or individuals who should be coded as a particular source type. However, the samples do not identify all such organizations or individuals. In doing his coding, the author may have relied too heavily on his personal knowledge of organizations and individuals. The person coding for inter-coder reliability did not have the same level of knowledge. The lesson learned here is that authors performing coding should ensure that their codebooks are clear or specific enough for coders to achieve the same level of coding regardless of their personal knowledge and experience. Despite this problem, the category is still important because this measure goes beyond identifying sources by their political affiliation and explores their roles in the policy process. Given its expansion of the concept of sources, it is argued that for this study, at least, 69.62% is sufficient agreement to include the data in the results.

Sixth, the frames were coded as to which of Schneider and Ingram's group's, shown in Table 10, (2007, p. 102; 1993, p. 336; 1997, p. 109) was "targeted" as the recipient and beneficiary of the policy tool SNAP/food stamps. An article calling for Congress not to cut food stamps because the poor require assistance or people do not have enough resources to acquire food would be coded as the target being "dependent." If seniors or middle-class individuals are referenced as the recipients of SNAP/food stamps, the target group would be "advantaged." This is consistent with Schneider and Ingram's social construction framework, which is applied to policy tools. Where this project

advances their work is that it identifies the target group or social construction that is affected by the problem of hunger. It codes the hunger problem frame as to which of the social group is affected by hunger, being hungry or suffering from very low food security. Coding the problem expands the understanding of the link between problem and policy tool. For example, children, while viewed positively, are politically weak (they don't vote). Seniors, as Schneider and Ingram point out are "advantaged," being both politically strong (they do vote) and having a positive image (ibid.).⁹⁴ Coding the

Table 10. Social Construction Framework Social Constructions

Advantaged	Contenders
Small Business Homeowners Military Scientists Disabled Senior Citizens	Big Business CEO's Labor Unions Polluting Industries The Radical Right Environmentalists Gun Manufacturers
Mothers Children The Poor Homeless	Feminist Movement Gay/Lesbian Welfare Mothers Criminals Terrorists
Dependents	Potential Outliers ⁹⁵

Note: Table is a compilation of different representations of the four-fold classification published in the following articles: (Ingram et al., 2007, p. 103; Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p. 109)

problems create the potential for determining if the power and image of the group experiencing or being affected by a problem are potentially related to the policy tool that

⁹⁴ "Contenders are politically strong, but have a negative image. Outliers are politically weak and also have a negative image.

⁹⁵ Schneider and Ingram use the term "deviants" for this category. Because of the extremely negative connotation of that word, especially in conjunction with sexual orientation, the project employs the term potential outliers, which it is believed is consistent with Schneider and Ingram's actual intent.

is implemented. If children or the poor are identified as being hungry, the frame is coded as the target being “dependents.” If seniors or member of the middle class are identified as being hungry the frame’s target group is coded as “advantaged.” The inter-coder reliability for this element was 92.41%.

Seventh The final element coded for the articles was “tone.” Tone “refers to the direction, focus or implication of the article.” The tone is more qualitative than quantitative and identifying it requires a few steps. The description of “tone” and the general guidance for coding for “tone” were taken from *The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence* by Baumgartner, De Boef, and Boydston (2008, p. 244). This project modified that guidance. Baumgartner, et.al. used a top-down approach to identify tones first and then coded for individual “arguments” related to those tones. This project uses a bottom-up approach. First, rather than identifying arguments for or against a topic, key statements in the articles were identified. The statements to be identified were based on statements in the literature, those from anti-hunger advocates, opponents, and the author’s experience. During the initial review of the original 4,000 articles, which resulted in a total of 1,474 potential articles, the focus or statements of individual articles were noted. After the set of potential stories was reduced to 1,474, more notes regarding statements during the review to reduce this number to the final set of 894 articles that were coded in-depth.

These initial reviews identified over 200 statements. Many of these statements varied only slightly from one another, and so it was determined that they could be consolidated into a total of fifty-four statements. The fifty-four statements were reviewed, and it was determined that based on the commonality between them, they could be

grouped into the fourteen “tones.” The statements and their tones are shown in Table 11. Each of the 894 relevant articles was reviewed to identify the predominate statement in the story. The coder then identified the tone of the article as being the tone associated with the dominant statement in the story. If there is an equal focus on different statements, then the article is coded as “Reader Decides.”

Table 11. Tone of Hunger and SNAP/Food Stamp Frames and Their Individual Statements

Tone	Statements
Charity Feeds the Hungry	
	Call for volunteers to work at food banks or charitable feeding organizations/events
	Charity (food banks etc.) creating new programs or expanding
	Charity meeting the need where SNAP/food stamps cannot
	Gleaning projects or efforts
	People go to food banks for help
	People volunteer at food banks and other charitable feeding organizations/events
	Charities feeding hundreds of people or feeding hungry people
Childhood Hunger Exists	
	Cuts will impact children
	There are X number of children hungry
Current SNAP/food stamps Program Insufficient	
	SNAP/food stamps don’t last the entire month; run out before the end of the month
	Rising food prices impact SNAP/food stamps recipients
Cut SNAP/food stamps/Snap	
	Convert SNAP/food stamps from an entitlement program to block grants
	Cut or reduce SNAP/food stamps costs by changing eligibility or other factors. Denying SNAP/food stamps to a specific segment of the population.
	Cuts are justified because able bodied people should work not get handouts

Tone	Statements
	Cuts are justified because welfare makes people dependent
	Cuts are necessary because the SNAP/food stamps program is too costly
	SNAP/food stamps part of welfare programs (Medicare, social security and so forth) should be reformed
	It is charities job to feed the hungry
SNAP/food stamps Are Necessary	
	Bureaucracy creates barriers to obtaining SNAP/food stamps; leads to errors or computer problems
	Calls to make SNAP/food stamps more accessible
	Cutting SNAP/food stamps results in hunger or people going hungry
	Descriptions of persons lawfully using SNAP/food stamps
	SNAP/food stamps cuts criticized as unfair, unwise, mean-spirited
	SNAP/food stamps should be expanded
	Individuals do not go hungry because they have SNAP/food stamps
	Individuals receiving SNAP/food stamps or living on SNAP/food stamps
	State and local governments request waivers to SNAP/food stamps program rules to retain eligibility for one or more groups of recipients
	End restrictions that limit access such as the “purchase requirement,” or not being a citizen
SNAP/food stamps Are Part of The Social Safety Net	
	Statements that SNAP/food stamps are part of the safety net
SNAP/food stamps Use Is Stigmatized	
	Won’t take SNAP/food stamps/welfare
Hunger Does Not Exist	
	Hunger doesn’t exist
	Reports of hunger are exaggerated or simply wrong
	There are not that many hungry people
Hunger Exists	

Tone	Statements
	Hunger a growing problem
	There are X number of hungry people
Obesity And SNAP/food stamps Linked	
	SNAP/food stamps recipients are obese or overweight
	SNAP/food stamps recipients have unhealthy eating habits
The Reader Decides	
	Articles that cannot be given an individual code because of multiple tones present
	Criticisms of program such as call for cuts, eligibility restrictions, cost of program are presented along with defenses of the program and calls to avoid cuts, retain or expand eligibility and the benefits of the program
	Descriptions of planned Congressional or state actions without arguments for or against
	Descriptions of planned or actual Congressional or State actions with arguments for or against
	People take the SNAP/food stamps Challenge
Save The SNAP/food stamps Program	
	Calls to not cut SNAP/food stamps program or reduce benefits
	Calls to restore previous SNAP/food stamps program cuts
	Cuts will hurt the poor or create hunger
	SNAP/food stamps generate more dollars than they cost
	SNAP/food stamps set a national floor for individual's income
	SNAP/food stamps should be saved
	It is the federal government's responsibility to feed the hungry
	Recipients use SNAP/food stamps as an aid to succeed, get off welfare
	The economy suffers when SNAP/food stamps are cut
The Safety Net Is Necessary	
	Food banks struggle to meet increased demand in times of economic distress or cuts to SNAP/food stamps program
	SNAP/food stamps recipients can now use SNAP/food stamps at farmers' markets

Tone	Statements
Senior Hunger Exists	
	There are X number of seniors hungry

Note that the coding “need not be related to the opinions of the author of the article; tone does not necessarily reflect journalistic slant” (Baumgartner et al., 2008, p. 244) Tone may refer to an opinion suggested by the author of the article or to the activities that are reported. The assignment of statements was not based on or influenced by the frame type (problem, policy tool) of the articles. After all the individual stories had been assigned a statement, it was observed that the some of the fourteen tones had similar themes. The original fourteen tones were grouped into five meta-tones (see Table 12). The “Save SNAP/Food Stamps” meta tone includes the following original tones: “Current Food Stamp Program Insufficient;” “SNAP/Food Stamps are Necessary;” “Save SNAP/Food Stamps;” “SNAP/Food Stamps are Part of Social Safety Net;” “SNAP/Food Stamp use is Stigmatized;” and, the “Safety Net is Necessary.” While the inclusion for most of these is obvious, it should be noted that “SNAP/food stamp use is stigmatized” is included because the articles making this statement did so from the perspective of the use should not be stigmatized. The “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps” meta-tone includes the following original tones: “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps;” and “Obesity and SNAP/Food Stamps are Linked.” The obesity tone was always presented in the context of obesity being a negative associated with food stamp recipients, and therefore it’s tone is that SNAP/food stamps should be cut or limited in some way. The “Hunger Exists” meta-tone includes: “Childhood Hunger Exists;” “Hunger Exists;” and, “Senior Hunger Exists.” The “Charity Feeds the Hungry” is an original tone that stands alone as a meta-tone. The final

Table 12. Meta-Tones and Their Component Tones

Meta-Tone	Original Tone
Save the SNAP/Food Stamps	
	Current SNAP/food stamps Program Insufficient
	SNAP/food stamps Are Necessary
	SNAP/food stamps Are Part of The Social Safety Net
	SNAP/food stamps Use Is Stigmatized
	Save The SNAP/food stamps Program
	The Safety Net Is Necessary
Cut SNAP/food stamps	
	Cut SNAP/food stamps
	Obesity And SNAP/food stamps Linked
Hunger Exists	
	Hunger Exists
	Childhood Hunger Exists
	Senior Hunger Exists
Charity Feeds the Hungry	
	Charity Feeds the Hungry
The Reader Decides	
	The Reader Decides

meta-tone is “The Reader Decides,” which includes cases where articles presented more than one statement, and the dominant statement could not be identified. A sixth meta-tone was not constructed for the “Hunger Does Not Exist” tone. As was noted earlier, in the review of the 894 articles only 3 (0.003%) disputed the existence of hunger. This number is too small to graph or consider in the results except for its absence. Because each story

was coded by individual statements, they can be grouped into original tones and meta-tones independent of any other factor such as frame type. The inter-coder reliability for this element was 91.14%.

A key point about these meta-frames and the fourteen base tones is that they can be compared relative to one another and regardless of whether or not they are associated with a problem frame or policy tool frame within and across the four times periods of interest to this project. The relationship of the appearance of problem and policy tool frames before and after a policy tool is passed is informative on one level. The relationship of either problem and policy tool frames and their tone—save SNAP/food stamps, cut SNAP/food stamps—reveals even more about their relationship. It is also important to note that the fact that there was only three hunger does not exist statements in all 894 stories indicates that the topic of hunger is not a contested one. In other words, hunger being absent from a discussion of SNAP/food stamps is not a function of a dominant view that it does not exist. There has to be another reason for the absence of hunger.

Once all the articles were coded, the data was analyzed in relation to the hypotheses that had been established for the research questions. The results of this analysis are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5. Data Analysis and Findings

This study is focused on the relationship between the media and policy, specifically, the relationship between media frames and anti-hunger policy in America. Precise definitions of frames related to policy have been developed as a means of examining why the media could support cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) at a time when the need was at an all-time high. While frames were identified for all segments of the policy process, this project focuses on the relationship between problem frames (hunger) and policy tool frames (SNAP/food stamps). It involves examining the occurrence of these frames two years before and two years after passage of four key pieces of legislation. Two of these bills, The Food Stamp Act of 1977 and The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 increased nutrition assistance. The other two bills, The Personal Responsibility, and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and The Agriculture Act of 2014 decreased assistance. Where feasible, the results are presented for each of the two groups and not individually to facilitate the best understanding of the data. All the data, unless otherwise indicated is based on quarters of a year, eight quarters before and eight quarters after the passage of the legislation.

5.1 Research Question 1: How do Hunger and SNAP/Food Stamp Frames Differ Across the Four Pieces of Legislation?

5.1.1 Problem and Policy Tool Frame Comparisons

There is an implicit logical connection between problems and policy tools (legislation). Policy tools are intended to address problems. If a problem affecting the public exists then a policy tool should be implemented to address it. The SNAP/food

stamps policy tool is intended to address the problem of hunger. Activists and politicians alike point to the media's drawing attention to the problem of hunger as a factor in the creation of the original food stamp program in the late 1960's (Berg, 2008, p. 233). The anti-hunger community is concerned that because the media is now ignoring the problem of hunger (ibid. , p. 218), there has been and will continue to be a negative impact on the policy tools that should address the problem (Berg, 2017, pp. 447-448). This concern is in line with what Graber calls the "muckraking" model of journalism (Graber, 2010, p. 133). The journalist investigates and publishes, the public reacts, and policies are the result. This is mirrored in the Thermostatic theory of public policy, where the public signals a policy preference and politicians respond by increasing policy (Soroka & Wlezien, 2010, p. 3). Under these principles, if the problem of hunger is ignored, how can effective policy tools be established?

One way to assess the connection between problems and policy tools is to look at the relationship of problem frames and policy tool frames. In particular, does the relationship change when legislation or a bill increases or decreases benefits? Are fewer problem frames present when a bill decreases benefits, and are there a greater number of problem frames when the bill increases benefits? Interestingly, the data presented in Table 13 give a conflicting view of the connection between problem frames and policy tool frames. First, the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frames always outnumber the hunger problem frames regardless of the legislation or whether or not the legislation increased or decreased benefits. The Food Stamp Act of 1977 shows the largest disparity. In the two years before passage of the act, there were only four hunger frame stories and one hundred and fifty-two policy tool frame stories, yet the act increased food stamp

Table 13. Number of Hunger Problem Frames And SNAP/Food Stamp Frames by Legislation and Increase or Decrease in Benefits

Legislation	Time Period Covered	Hunger Problem Frames	SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames	Total	Bill Increase or Decrease Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977	9/29/1977-9/29/19/79				Increased
Before passage		4	152		
After passage		5	68		
Total		9	220	229	
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	6/18/2006-6/18/2010				Increased
Before passage		34	33		
After passage		42	57		
Total		76	90	166	
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996	8/22/1994-8/22/1998				Decreased
Before passage		34	110		
After passage		41	102		
Total		75	212	287	
The Agriculture Act of 2014	2/7/2012-2/7/2016				Decreased
Before passage		53	107		
After passage		35	17		
Total		88	124	212	
Total		248	646		

benefits. This disparity seems to give support to Berry's observation that once a policy tool is enacted, it becomes the problem instead of the problem it was intended to resolve

(Berry, 1984, p. 92). This is another indication of the potential for policy tool discussions to be decoupled or disconnected from the problem. Second, the least contested of the bills, Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 has the fewest total number of stories but has the greatest balance between hunger problem frames and SNAP/food stamps policy tool frames. The hunger problem frame and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame data is more reflective of a relationship than a link. A link would imply that there is at least a fluctuating connection between the frames—more hunger problem frames results in legislation increasing benefits, for example. This is especially true in the quarter before the passage of legislation, when one would expect media attention to be most focused (Atkinson, Lovett, & Baumgartner, 2014, p. 355). Such fluctuations will be present if our first hypothesis is confirmed.

H1. In the quarter before the passage of legislation (a policy tool) that increases benefits, the number of hunger problem frames will be greater than SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames, and the number of SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames will be greater when the legislation decreases benefits.

The data in Table 14 does show that the number of SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames was greater than hunger problem frames when the legislation decreased benefits (1996 and 2014). However, it also shows that SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames are greater in number than hunger problem frames when the legislation increases benefits (1977 and 2008). Therefore, the hypothesis is rejected. The lack of consistent results shows that the number of frames is important, but one must also consider the context in which the legislation is being considered (Iyengar, 1991, p. 140; Patterson, 2013, p. 93).

Table 14. Number of Hunger Problem Frames And SNAP/Food Stamp Frames in The Quarter Before Passage of Legislation

Legislation	Quarter before passage of legislation	Hunger Problem Frames	SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames	Bill Increases or Decreases Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977	6/30/1977-9/28/1977	0	14	Increased
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	3/19/2008-6/17/2008	4	7	Increased
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996	5/23/1996-8/21/1996	3	13	Decreased
The Agriculture Act of 2014	11/8/2013-2/7/2014	9	34	Decreased

As the data in Tables 13 and 14 show, there is an imbalance between the number of problem frames and policy tool frames. The nature of this imbalance is better seen in Figures 1 through 4 that graph the broader relationship for the entire two years, by quarters, before and after the passage of the key pieces of legislation. The figures are grouped by whether or not the legislation increased or decreased benefits. For the two that increased benefits (1977 and 2008), notice that between 1975 and 1979 the hunger problem frame is almost non-existent. This is consistent with the assessment that the hunger and malnutrition discovered in the late 1960's had been almost eradicated by 1977 (Physician Task Force on Hunger in America & Brown, 1985, p. ii). Therefore, it seems logical that hunger problem frames would decrease. What is of interest is that this takes place when the policy tool (The Food Stamp Act of 1977) *increases* the benefits. It may seem obvious that there are other factors that influence policy tool adoption, but the lack of hunger problem frames shown in Figure 1 provides evidence of this fact. What is not captured in this chart is the circumstances surrounding the passage of the Food Stamp

Act of 1977. Debate on its passage began in the Ford administration, and final passage was accomplished during the first year of Carter's administration. President Ford had proposed several regulations to reduce the cost of the program (Hicks, 1975a). President Carter ended those efforts and instead pushed for an end to the requirement that recipients purchase food stamps (Hicks, 1976). Figure 1 reveals two peaks, one before and after Carter took office. The 3/30/76 to 6/29/76 period covers Fords' efforts to cut benefits. The 3/30/77 to 6/29/77 period coincides with Carter's efforts to do the opposite and expand benefits. counts.

Figure 2 shows a evener distribution of problem and policy tool frames, with a decrease of problem frames for a period of time after passage of The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 which, increased benefits. It is interesting though that in the second year after passage of the act, the problem frame stories rise to a level greater than policy tool stories. The only other time this happens is with The Agriculture Act of 2014 which, decreased benefits (see Figure 4). The rise in hunger problem frames for the 2008 act occurs as the economy was worsening and the number of people eligible for SNAP benefits increased. The rise in hunger problem frames for the 2014 act occurs when De Blasio replaces Bloomberg as Mayor of New York City and SNAP participation remains at a high level.

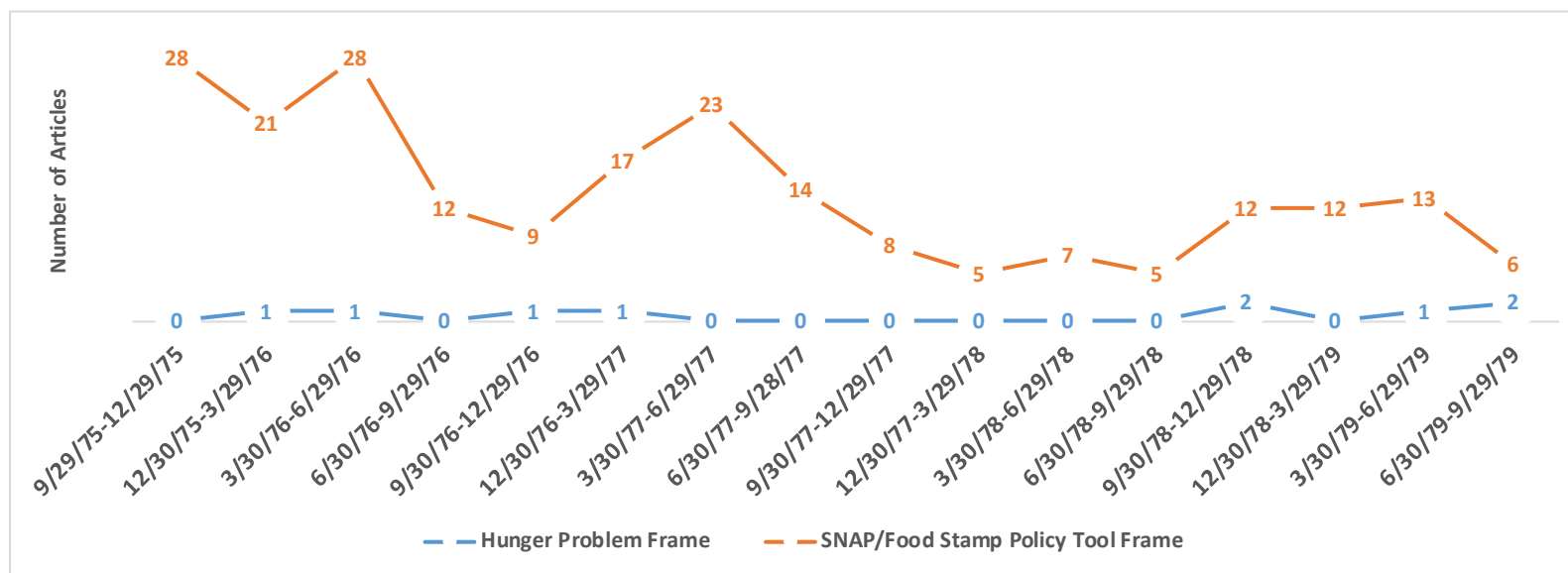


Figure 1. Total Number of Problem and Policy Tool Frames for The Food Stamp Act Of 1977, By Quarter. The Act Passed 9/29/77, Benefits Increased

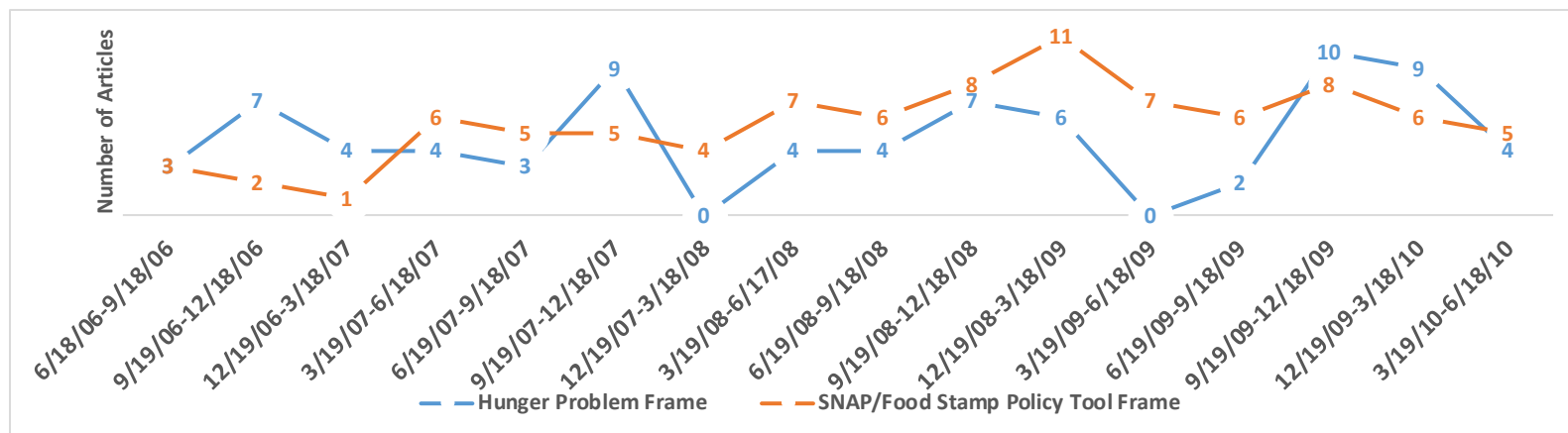


Figure 2. Total Number of Problem and Policy Tool Frames for The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act Of 2008, By Quarter. The Act Pass 6/18/2008, Benefits Increased

Figure 3 is reflective of the debate surrounding welfare reform in the 1994 to 1998 timeframe. What is interesting is the dominance of the policy tool frame. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 decreased benefits, by eliminating eligibility for legal immigrants and placing greater restrictions on able bodied⁹⁶ adults without dependents receiving benefits. This was seen as potentially increasing hunger, but the debate over the effects of these restrictions takes place within the policy tool frame and not a hunger problem frame.

Figure 4 shows an expected increase in the volume of SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame articles before the passage of the Agriculture Act of 2014. This was a period of intense debate over the very existence of SNAP as a program, with House Republicans passing an initial farm bill that did not even include SNAP (Weisman & Nixon, 2013).⁹⁷ Again the discussion of the bill and consequences is taking place within the policy tool frame, which is another indication that the media-policy relationship is more nuanced than simply counting frames. The “tone” of articles may be more indicative of the contents of the problem and policy tool frames and their relationship. By definition, a hunger problem frame is one in which the dominant topic is “hunger” or the “hungry.” But it is possible to have a hunger problem frame with a “tone” or focus that hunger is rampant and one where the discussion of hunger is focused on the fact that it does not exist. Both are problem frames, but they have opposite tones. The next section discusses the interaction between frames and meta-tones.

⁹⁶ While some may argue that “able body” is the grammatically correct term, Congress and the U.S. Department of Agriculture use “able bodied.” See <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/able-bodied-adults-without-dependents-abawds>.

⁹⁷ The Federal Agricultural Reform and Risk Management Act of 2013, H. R. 2642, 113d Cong. (07/11/2013).

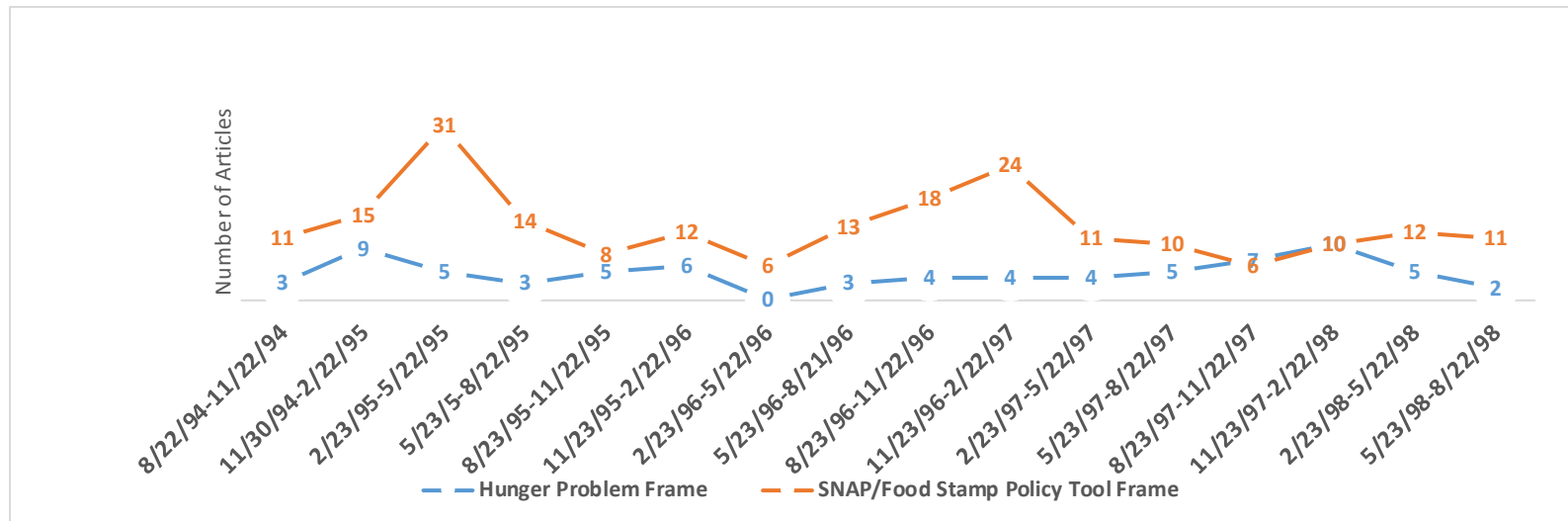


Figure 3. Total Problem and Policy Tool Frames for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, by Quarter. The Act passed 8/22/1996, Benefits Decreased

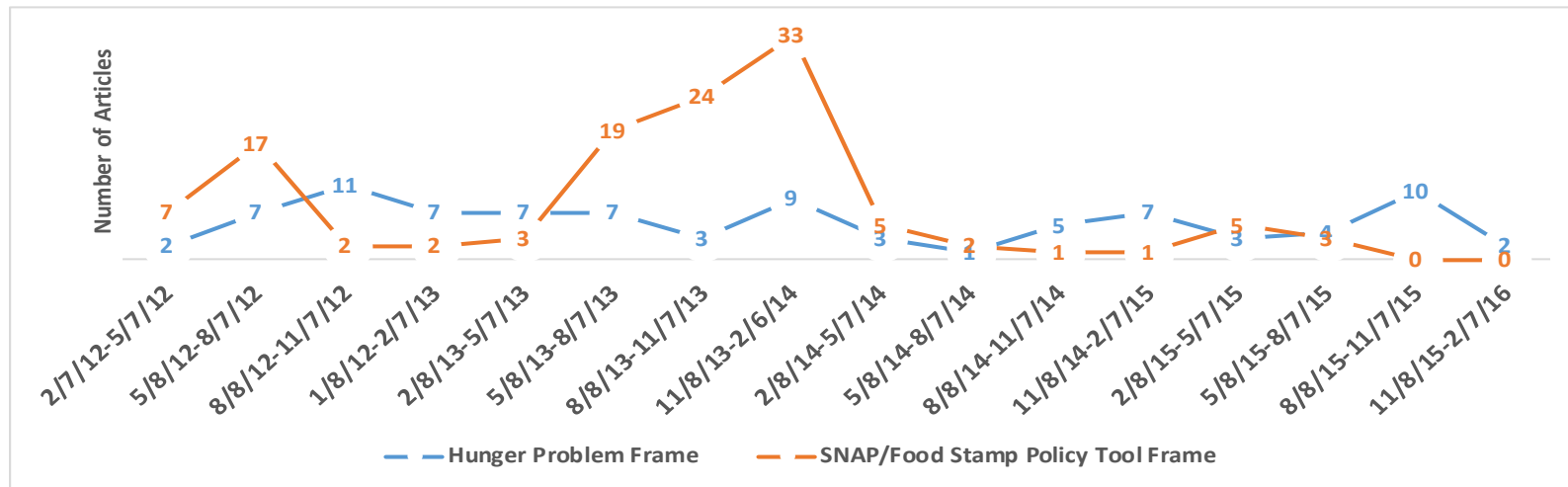


Figure 4. Total Problem and Policy Tool Frames for the Agriculture Act of 2014, by Quarter. The Act passed 2/7/2014, Benefits Decrease

5.1.2 Meta-Tones

Employing the process described in chapter 4, to identify the focus of the articles reviewed, five⁹⁸ meta-tones were established:

1. Save SNAP/food stamps
2. Cut SNAP/food Stamps
3. Hunger exists
4. The reader decides
5. Charity feeds the hungry

These meta-tones are not frame-dependent. They can be applied to any of the categories of frames established for this project: problem, policy, policy goal, policy tool, and policy end. The flexibility also means that there are numerous relationships that can be presented. The most general is to show the combined number of the meta-tones present in both hunger problem and SNAP/food stamps frames during the four-year period associated with each piece of key anti-hunger legislation. This relationship, shown in Table 15 and Figure 5 shows the percentage of meta-tones associated with each piece of legislation.

⁹⁸ As noted in chapter 4, a sixth meta-tone, “hunger does not exist” was initially considered, but of the 894 articles fully coded for this project, only three were in that category and therefore it was dropped.

Table 15. Number of Meta-Tone Occurrences by Major Legislation and Increase or Decrease in Benefits

Legislation	Save SNAP/Food Stamps	%	Cut SNAP/ Food Stamps	%	Hunger Exists	%	The Reader Decides	%	Charity Feeds the Hungry	%	Total	Bill Increase or Decrease Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977	71	30%	35	15%	5	2%	117	52%	1	>1%	229	Increase
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	80	48%	9	5%	40	24%	19	11%	18	11%	166	Increase
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996	118	42%	42	15%	17	6%	75	25%	35	12%	287	Decrease
The Agriculture Act of 2014	57	27%	17	8%	43	20%	66	32%	26	12%	209	Decrease
Total	326		103		105		277		80		891	

Note: Some totals may not add up to 100% due to rounding of numbers.

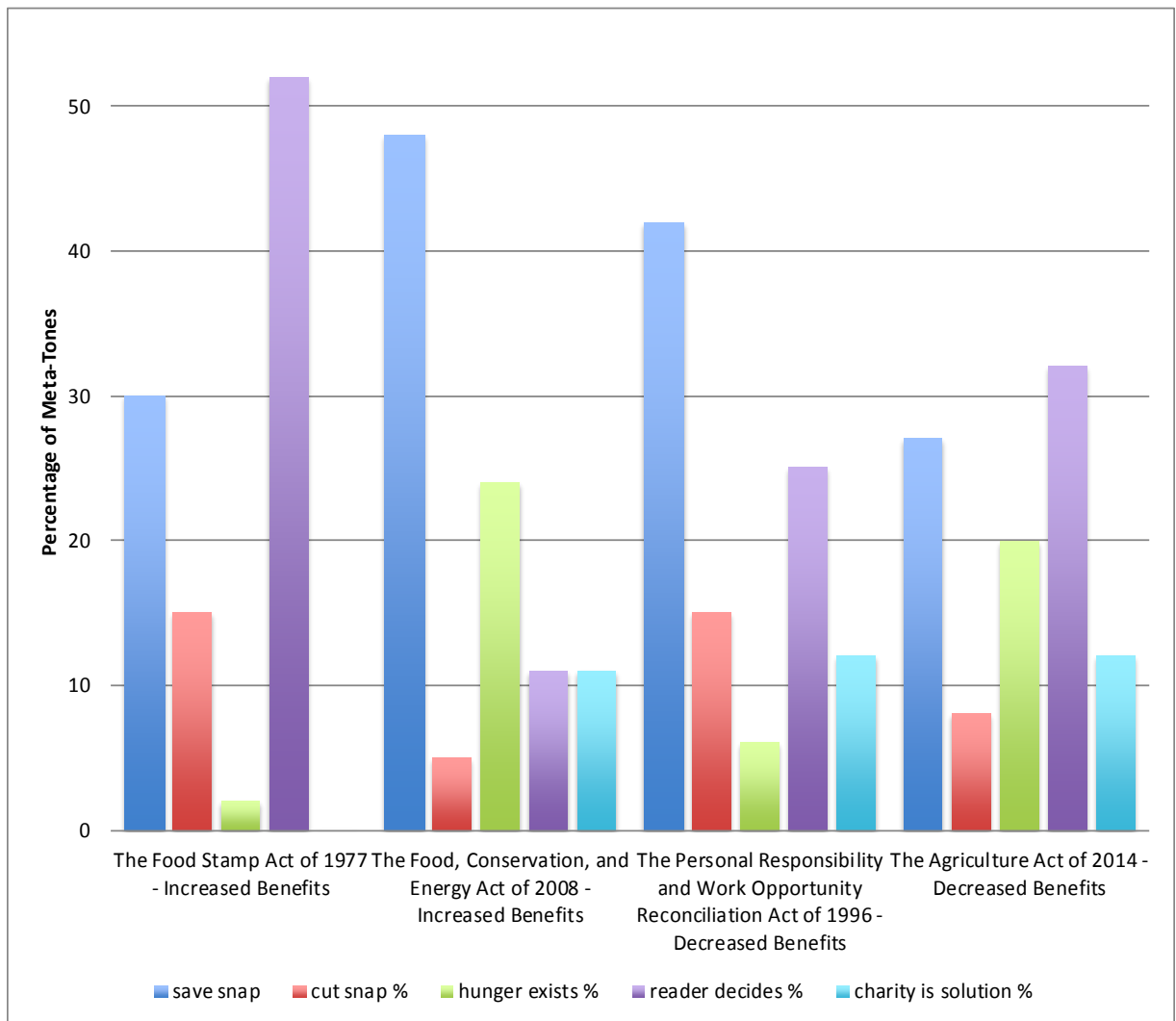


Figure 5. Percentage of Meta-Tones for Each Key Piece of Nutrition Legislation

If the “reader decides” meta-tone is removed, the single greatest number of meta-tone articles is the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone regardless of whether or not the bill that passed increased or decreased benefits. This would indicate that the SNAP/food stamp program is a contested topic. However, the nature of the “sides” of the contest is not clear. The strong presence of this meta-tone may reflect the fact that there has been a consistent pressure to cut the program. Whether because cost-cutting is an annual budget ritual and SNAP/food stamps are perceived to be an easy target or because there are

groups that seek to cut the program as a matter of principle. It could also mean that SNAP/food stamps are seen as a solution in the face of the problem of hunger. The greatest percentage of stories with the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone (48%) are associated with the 2008 act when SNAP/food stamps were not under attack. In that same period, there are more “hunger exists” meta-tone articles than for any of the other bills. This could reflect the rise in demand for SNAP benefits and the worsening economy. It could also reflect the Democrats desire to increase a favored program now that they controlled the House and the Senate. What is clear is that “save SNAP/food stamps” is a tone that represents a significant number of articles, ranging from 27% to 48% of all articles regardless of the legislation being considered.

Table 16 and Figure 6 breaks this data down and shows the relationship of the meta-tones before and after a piece of legislation is passed. They show apparently inconsistent trends for the “save SNAP/food stamps,” and a consistent trend for the “hunger exists” meta-tone. Unexpectedly, the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone increases after the passage of the 2008 act that increased benefits and decreased after the passage of the 2014 act that reduced benefits. Expectedly, the “hunger exists” meta-tone decreases after passage of the 2008 act, which increased benefits and goes up after the passage of the 2014 act, which decreased benefits. This is the largest variation of the all the pieces of legislation. Before passage, the “hunger exists” meta-tone accounted for 14% of the total stories, and it accounted for 41% of the stories after passage of the bill. These variances reveal the limitations of using data that combines results from both problem and policy tool frames. It is not just the frame that is important; it is the meta-tone of the frame that is key.

Table 16. Number of Meta-Tone Occurrences in The Two Years Before and After Passage of Major Legislation and Increase or Decrease in Benefits

Legislation	Save SNAP/Food Stamps	%	Cut SNAP/Food Stamps	%	Hunger Exists	%	The Reader Decides	%	Charity Feeds the Hungry	%	Total	Bill Increased or Decreased Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977												
Before Passage	51	32%	28	18%	1	1%	76	50%	0	0%	157	Increase
After passage	20	28%	7	10%	4	6%	41	56%	1	1%	72	
Total	71	31%	35	15%	5	2%	117	52%	1	0%	229	
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008												
Before Passage	27	41%	3	5%	19	29%	14	20%	4	6%	66	Increase
After passage	53	53%	6	6%	21	21%	5	6%	14	14%	100	
Total	80	48%	9	5%	40	24%	19	11%	18	11%	166	
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996												
Before Passage	53	37%	29	20%	7	5%	40	28%	15	10%	147	Decrease
After passage	65	46%	13	9%	10	7%	35	23%	20	14%	140	
Total	118	42%	42	15%	17	6%	75	25%	35	12%	287	
The Agriculture Act of 2014												
Before Passage	50	31%	16	10%	22	14%	55	35%	15	9%	158	Decrease
After passage	7	14%	1	2%	21	41%	11	22%	11	22%	51	
Total	57	27%	17	8%	43	20%	66	32%	26	12%	209	
Total	326		103		105		277		80		891	

Note: Percentages may not total 100% due to rounding.

The decrease in “save SNAP/food stamps” tone for the 2014 act may be located in the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame, while the increase “hunger exists” tones may be located in just the hunger problem frame. This would be an indication of the separation or disconnect between the policy tool and the problem. It could also be the case that both meta-tones appear in the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. If so, it might be argued the problem of hunger is being discussed in connection with SNAP/food stamps. In that case, the “disconnect” mention in the introduction of this project does not exist. To explore this situation more closely, it is necessary to break out the meta-tones by the individual frame type.

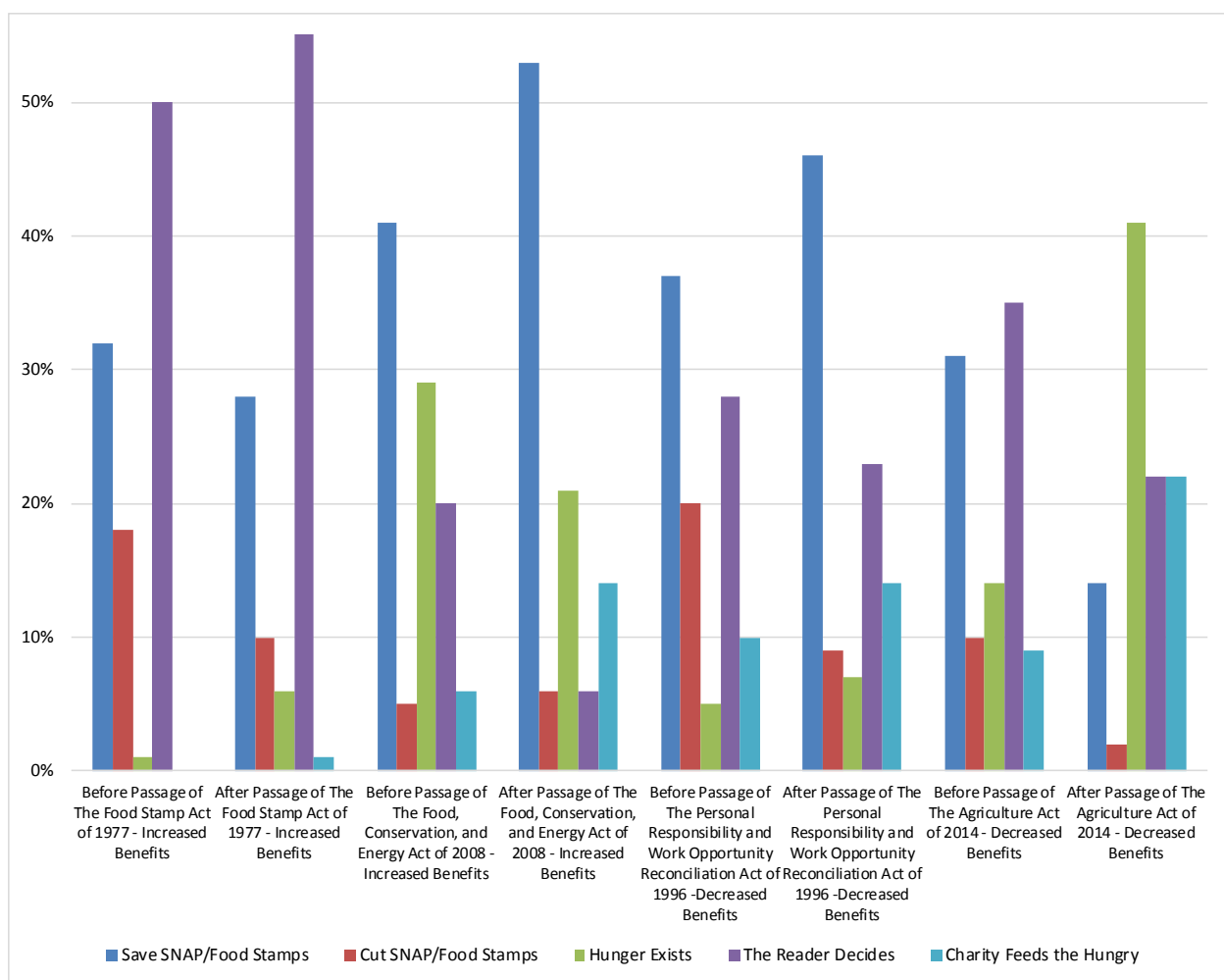


Figure 6. Percentage of Meta-Tone Occurrences in the Two Years Before and After Passage of Major Legislation

5.1.3 Relationship Between Meta-Tones, the Hunger Problem Frame, and the SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames

To expand the perspective provided by the data in Tables 15 and 16, it is useful to show the relationship between the meta-tones and both the hunger problem frame and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame. Table 17 shows the relationship between the meta-tones and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame. The key result is that there are no instances of the “hunger exists” meta-tone in SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames for

any one of the pieces of legislation. Table 18 shows the relationship between meta-tones and the hunger problem frame. Logically, this frame does contain the “hunger exists” meta-tone. What is interesting here is the number of “charity feeds the hungry” meta-tones in the hunger problem frame (N-74) compared to only six in the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame. There are also fewer (N-42) “save SNAP/food stamp” than “charity feeds the hungry” tones in hunger problem frames. This seems to lend support to anti-hunger advocates’ concern that charity, though inefficient, is often seen as a substitute for SNAP/food stamps (Berg, 2008, p. 200).

Though the tables are information, perhaps the best way to visualize the interconnection or lack of interconnection between the frames and their meta-tones is through graphs. The graph shows the “space” of the frame in which the different meta-tones are located and comparing it to the other frame’s space shows the balance or imbalance between the two e. Figures 7 through 10 show the six meta-tones in relationship to the hunger problem frame and the SNAP/food stamp policy tool frame. The meta-tones are represented by columns.

Table 17. SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frame Meta-Tones for Each Piece of Legislation

		Save FS/SNAP	Cut FS/SNAP	Hunger Exists	The Reader Decides	Charity Feeds Hungry	Total
The Food Stamp Act of 1977							
	New York Times	36	12	0	55	0	103
	Washington Post	35	21	0	61	0	117
	USA Today*						
	Total	71	33	0	116	0	220
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996							
	<i>New York Times</i>	50	17	0	25	3	94
	Washington Post	41	15	0	41	1	96
	USA Today	6	6	0	7	0	19
	Total	97	38	0	73	4	212
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008							
	<i>New York Times</i>	47	0	0	9	2	61
	Washington Post	17	1	0	5	0	23
	USA Today	3	3	0	3	0	9
	Total	67	4	0	17	2	90
The Agriculture Act of 2014							
	<i>New York Times</i>	28	3	0	33	0	65
	Washington Post	13	9	0	24	0	46
	USA Today	5	3	0	5	0	13
	Total	46	15	0	62	0	124
Total for All SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frame Meta-Tones							
		281	90	0	268	6	645

*Note: There is no data for *USA Today* because it did not begin publication until 1982.

Table 18. Hunger Problem Frame Meta-Tones for Each Piece of Legislation

		Save FS/SNAP	Cut FS/SNAP	Hunger Exists	The Reader Decides	Charity Feeds Hungry	Total
The Food Stamp Act of 1977							
	<i>New York Times</i>	0	1	2	1	1	5
	Washington Post	0	1	3	0	0	4
	USA Today*						
	Total	0	2	5	1	1	9
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996							
	<i>New York Times</i>	11	1	4	1	13	30
	Washington Post	8	2	7	1	16	34
	USA Today	2	1	6	0	2	11
	Total	21	4	17	2	31	75
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008							
	<i>New York Times</i>	10	2	13	0	11	36
	Washington Post	2	3	19	1	4	29
	USA Today	1	0	8	1	1	11
	Total	13	5	40	2	16	76
The Agriculture Act of 2014							
	<i>New York Times</i>	5	1	12	1	2	21
	Washington Post	4	1	29	3	17	54
	USA Today	2	0	2	0	7	11
	Total	11	2	43	4	26	86
Total for all Hunger Problem Frame Meta-Tones		45	13	105	9	74	246

*Note: There is no data for *USA Today* because it did not begin publication until

The hunger problem frame and the SNAP/food stamps frame are shown as lines representing the total number of stories for each frame. Regarding quantity, the closer the frame lines are to one another the more equal the number of stories from each frame at that point in time. This is an indication that both topics are present in the media.

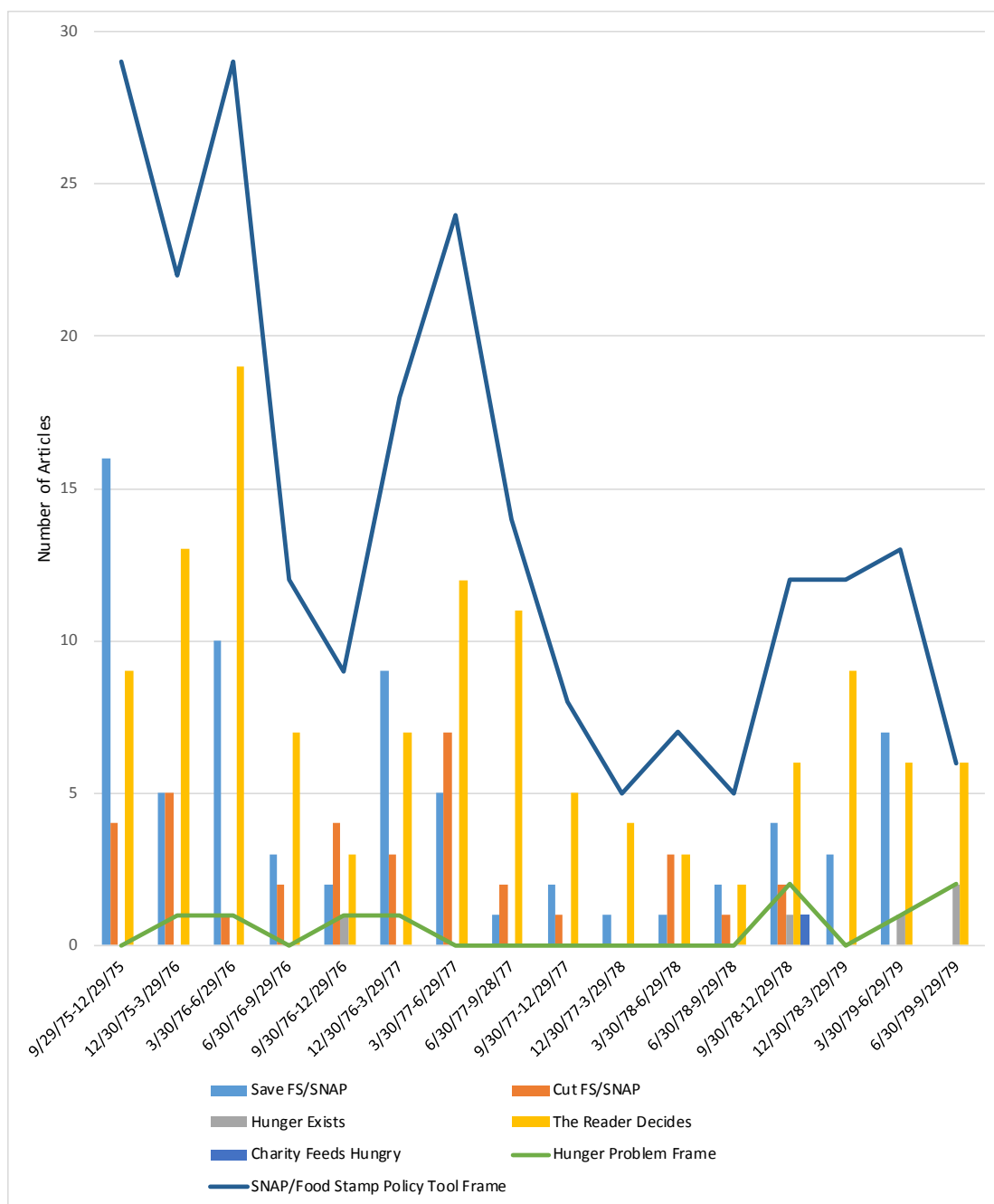


Figure 7. All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food Stamp Act of 1977

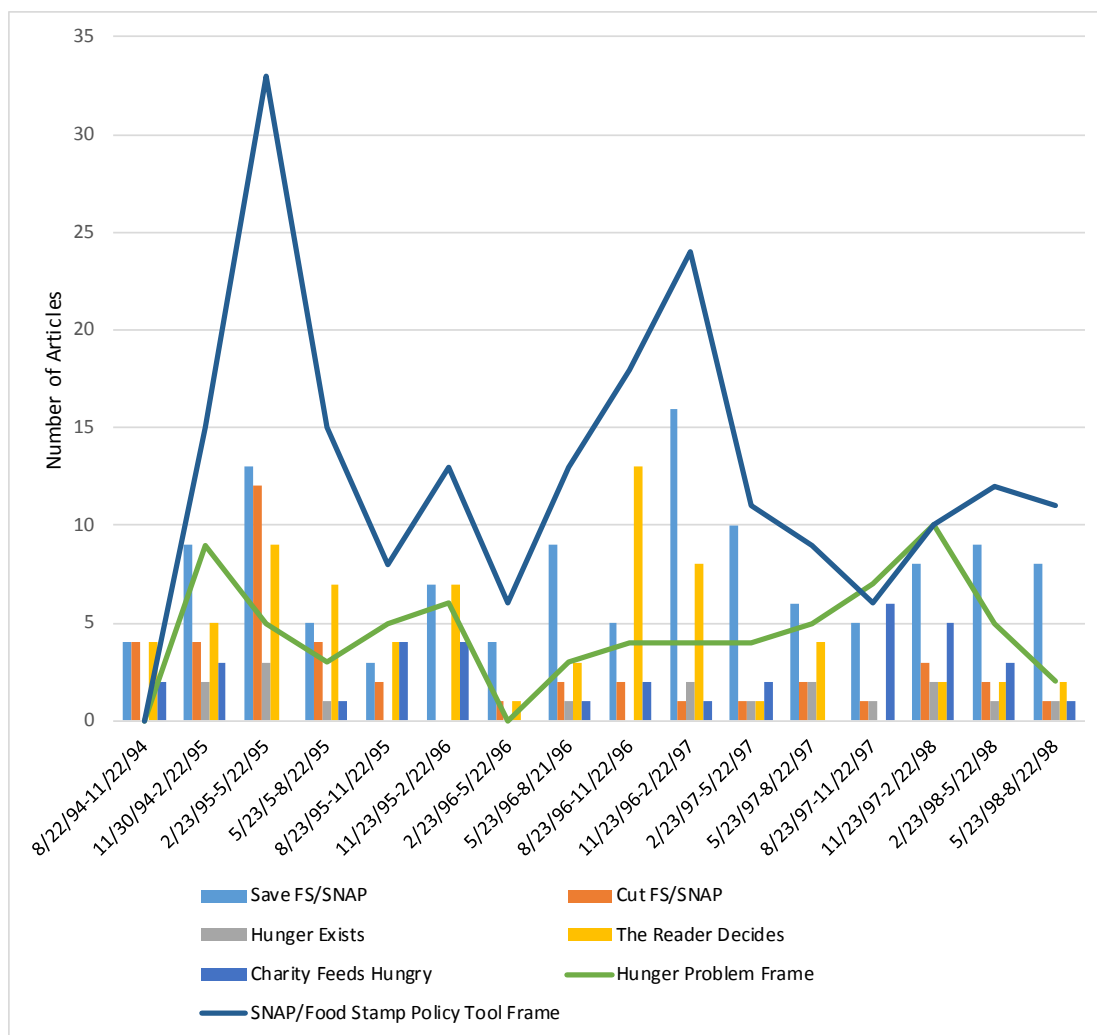


Figure 8. All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

If the lines are far apart, it is an indication that one frame or the other and the meta-tones it carries is dominating the news. Based on the definitions we have established for this project, a direct connection between the problem and policy tool frames would exist if one or more of the meta-tones most closely related to the problem frame appeared in the policy tool frame “space.” For our project, that means stories with the “hunger exists” tone appearing in the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame space.

Initially, it may appear illogical to expect that a SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame would have a meta-tone of “hunger exists.” It is important to note though that frames and tones are independent of one another. It is conceivable that a SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame could emphasize the need for SNAP/food stamps because of the existence of hunger. This would be representative of a precise connection between the policy tool and the problem it is intended to address. As noted earlier, none of the articles coded for this project met this condition.

With respect to the dominance of one frame versus the other (problem versus policy tool), Figures 7 through 10 do not reveal a consistent trend across the four pieces of legislation. Figure 7 (The Food Stamp Act of 1977) shows the food stamp policy tool frame as dominate throughout most of the four-year cycle. This is most likely due to the limited number of hunger problem frame articles during that period. Figure 8 (The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act) shows a similar dominance of the food stamp policy tool frame until the final six months. As for the trends being relevant to whether or not the legislation increased or decreased benefits, there is no apparent correlation. The 1977 act increased benefits, and the 1996 act reduced them. Figure 9 (The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008) and Figure 10 (The Agriculture Act of 2014), show an opposite trend. In both cases, the hunger problem and SNAP/food stamps frames alternate as the dominant frame, and they alternate both before and after the legislation is passed.

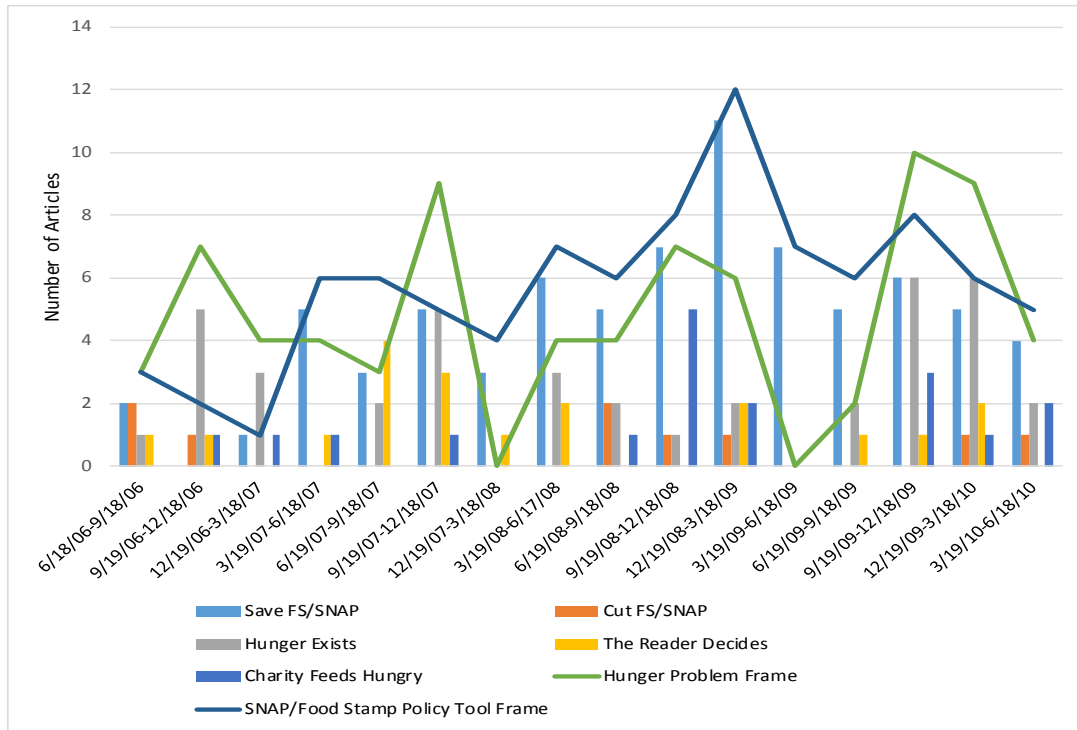


Figure 9. All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008

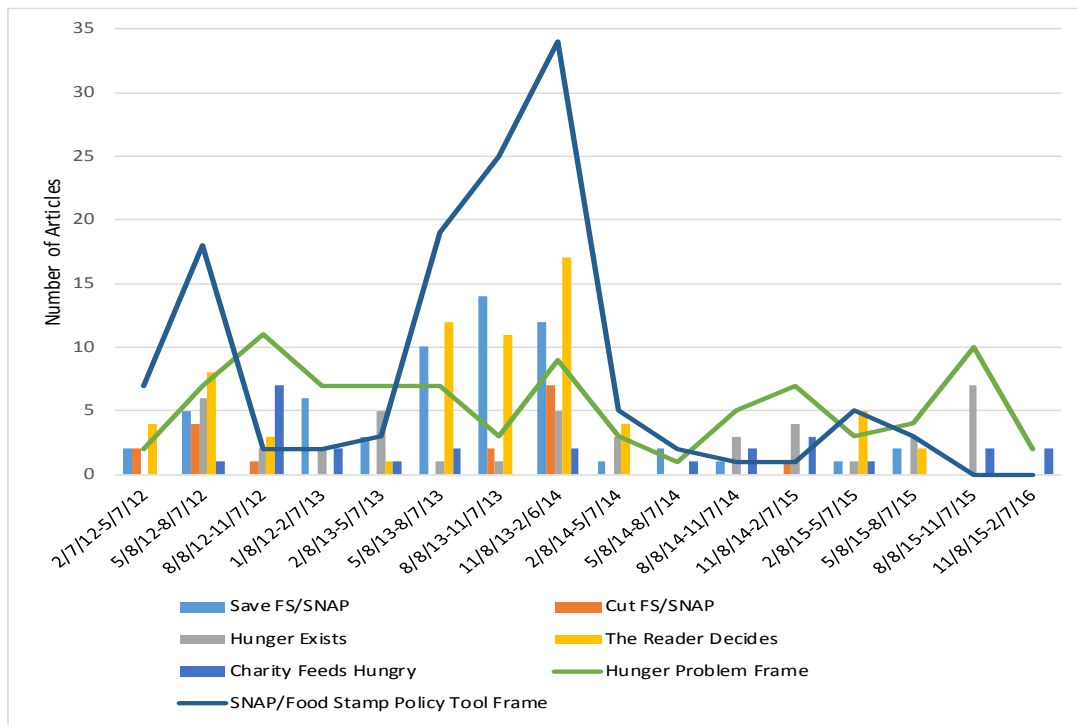


Figure 10. All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Agriculture Act of 2014

The absence of a trend across the four pieces of legislation does not mean that there are not trends within each piece of legislation. Looking at Figure 7 (The Food Stamp Act of 1977) it is obvious that hunger was not a problem presented in the media as evidenced by the almost absence of a hunger problem frame “space.” It is also apparent that the dominant meta-tone within the food stamp policy tool space was the “reader decides.” This may mean that there was a balance in the coverage or that the articles were too ambiguous to code with a specific meta-tone. Whatever the case may be, the representations in Figure 7 highlight an area to explore in more detail to determine the exact nature of the coverage. Figure 8 (The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996) reveals a different trend in coverage. First, there is a hunger problem space, so hunger was a topic of discussion. Second, the dominate meta-tone was “save SNAP/food stamps,” meaning that the focus of the articles was clearer than the set for 1977. Figure 9 (The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008), reveals two interesting trends. First, the hunger problem and SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame spaces are the closest together of the four periods studied. This indicates a greater balance in the number of articles of both frames. Second, the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone represents 48% of the articles over the four-year period (see Table 16). Looking at the percentage of articles before and after passage, this meta-tone accounts for 58% of the articles after the passage of the legislation. What makes this interesting is that of the four pieces of legislation studied in this project, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, was the one where there was little attention paid to reducing benefits. The Bush administration was concerned with the cost of farmer subsidy programs not the SNAP/food stamp program (Bush, 2008). It is possible the

dominance of the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone is caused by stories highlighting the benefits of the program in contrast to some perceived flaws in the farm subsidy portion of the 2008 farm bill. Though it is not possible to make any definitive statements based on data available, the process and definitions identified in this project could be used in the future to explore the question and perhaps come to more decisive conclusions. It is not a matter of the meta-tone “save SNAP/food stamps” being deficient. It is a matter of how the statements that make up the meta-tone are grouped. If anyone is interested in the question of why the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone is dominant when the program is not at risk of being reduced or benefits cut, the following approach might be employed. The statements that make up the meta-tones and the meta-tones themselves cross frames and legislation. By reviewing the articles for the 2006 to 2010-time period, it may be determined that the statements can be grouped in such a way that a new meta-tone or tones emerge. For example, the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone might be split into “save SNAP/food stamps” by benefit or by cost-effectiveness or moral grounds. The statements are constant; they would simply be grouped into different meta-tones. The point being that while it is not within the scope of this project to do such an additional detailed analysis; the project has delineated a means by which such an analysis may be conducted in the future.

Figures J1 through J11 in Appendix J, show the same relationship between all meta-tones and the “hunger” problem and “save SNAP/food stamp” policy tool frames that are shown in Figures 7 through 10 only they are broken out by each news source: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*. These figures reveal a close similarity between the trends in the figures for all meta-tones from all sources (Figures 7

through 10) and each news source. Just as in the composite data, the relationship between the problem and policy tool frames shows no consistent pattern of dominance by one frame over the other. The fluctuations for each newspaper are also similar to the fluctuations seen in the composite data. This would seem to refute the notion that one paper or the other was “biased” in presenting more of one type of frame--problem or policy. While the fluctuations are important and support the notion that there is some degree of “balance,” they do not fully reveal whether there is a connection or disconnect between the problem and the policy tool.

5.1.4 Relationship Between “Hunger Exists,” “Save SNAP/Food Stamps,” and “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps Meta-Tones

Examining the relationship between problem and policy tool frames provides a description of the relationship between the media and policy from one perspective. Exploring the relationship between meta- tones allows us to refine the nature of the relationship. For example, at the frame level, the most discrete breakdown is of the types of frames, problem, policy tool, and so forth. Focusing on meta-tones provides a means to break down a single frame type by its meta-tone. For example, it is possible to distinguish between hunger problem frames with a tone that focuses on the fact that hunger exists and a tone where the focus is that hunger does not exist. It is also possible to distinguish between policy tool frames of “save SNAP/food stamps” and “cut SNAP/food stamps.” The relationship between these four tones can then be explored, providing a clearer understanding of the possible relationship between frames and policy.

The inherent logic of the public policy process is that policy tools are developed to address a problem. Therefore, it appears logical that there is a relationship between the meta-tone of “hunger exists”⁹⁹ and the “Save SNAP/food stamps” and “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tones. To examine the relationship, two hypotheses were established dependent on whether or not legislation increases or decreases benefits:

H2. There is a positive correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “Save SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.¹⁰⁰

H3. There is a negative correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “cut SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.

Table 19 shows the results of the Pearson R used to test the hypotheses H2 and H3 to determine the correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the “hunger exists meta-tone and the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone. The hypothesis H2 is rejected for The Food Stamp Act of 1977. The negative correlation (-0.3527) between “hunger exists” and the “save SNAP/food stamp” tones shown in Table 19 is unexpected given the result that the Food Stamp Act of 1977

⁹⁹ As noted earlier, only three articles in the sample (n=894) could be coded as “hunger does not exist” so this tone is not explored in this project. This is not to say that articles never contained quotes or data to suggest that hunger does not exist. Many articles did, but those articles also contained information that rebutted those claims. Because each view was given equal weight in the article, those articles were coded as “reader decides.”

¹⁰⁰ The number of articles for all meta-tones was tabulated by quarter, eight quarters before and eight quarters after passage of a bill. Correlation is determined by obtaining the r value when the results in each quarter for each meta-tone are compared across each other. Quarters do not begin on the first of a month and end on the last day of the month. The quarter used in this project is based on starting with the exact date the bill will passed and counting back two years and ahead two years.

did increase benefits. If hunger exists, it is logical to expect that the statements (the elements which comprise the meta-tones) in articles be in the category of “save SNAP/food stamps.” The very weak correlation (0.1048) between “hunger exists” and the “cut SNAP/food stamps” is expected. If hunger exists and the food stamp program is intended to address the problem, then one would expect that articles would not focus on cutting food stamps.¹⁰¹

It is beyond the scope of this project to determine why the bill passed in the absence of discussions of the hunger problem. There were significant efforts to cut the program by the Ford administration, which were halted by the Carter administration before the passage of 1977 act.¹⁰² The results may simply reflect the fact that only 4% of all articles during the 1975 to 1979, period were hunger problem frames. One can only speculate on the reason for so few stories. There may have been an acceptance of the fact that hunger existed. Or, given that 96% of the stories were food stamp policy tool frames, the result may be another manifestation of Berry’s observation that a program (policy tool) once implemented becomes the problem and not the condition it was meant to address (Berry, 1984, p. 92).

¹⁰¹ As noted earlier, the supplemental nutrition assistance program (SNAP) was not established until 2008. Until that time, the program was called the food stamp program.

¹⁰² To make the narrative less cumbersome and because each piece of legislation was passed in different years, once a law’s full name has been given it will be referred to as the “[year of passage] act.” The Food Stamp Act of 1977 is the “1977 act;” the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 is the “2008 act,” and so forth.

Table 19. Correlation Between The “Hunger Exists” Meta-Tone and the “Save SNAP/Food Stamps” and the “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps” Meta Tones, Before and After Passage of Major Legislation

Hunger Exists Meta-Tone			
Legislation	Save SNAP/Food Stamps	Cut SNAP/Food Stamps	Bill Increased or Decreased Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977			Increased
Total for All Four Years	-0.2398	-0.2680	
Before Passage of Bill	-0.3527	0.1048	
After Passage of Bill	0.0857	-0.2518	
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008			Increased
Total for All Four Years	-0.1559	-0.0225	
Before Passage of Bill	-0.2964	-0.0120	
After Passage of Bill	-0.1807	-0.0689	
Total for All Four Years			
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996			Decreased
Total for All Four Years	0.7098	0.5782	
Before Passage of Bill	0.8831	0.8442	
After Passage of Bill	0.4652	0.2037	
The Agriculture Act of 2014			Decreased
Total for All Four Years	-0.0300	0.3296	
Before Passage of Bill	-0.0253	0.4921	
After Passage of Bill	-0.3956	0.2388	

Hypothesis H2 is also rejected for The Food, Conservation, and Agriculture Act of 2008, which increased benefits. The correlation between the “hunger exists” and “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tones is not only negative for the two-year period before passage of the bill it is negative after passage as well. Unlike the 1977 act where only 3% of articles were hunger problem frames, 51% of the articles were hunger problem frames. This result indicates that the “hunger exists” met-tone is occurring independent of the cut

or save SNAP/food stamps meta-tones. It is possible that there is a time lag between stories with “hunger exists” meta-tone appearing and the save or cut tones being published. It may take a full quarter to pass after stories with the “hunger exists” meta-tone appear, for “cut” or “save” stories to appear. These results may also reflect the fact that neither hunger nor the policy tool SNAP/food stamps were the focus of The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008.

Hypothesis H3 is rejected for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. The 1996 act decreased benefits, and so one would expect a negative correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone. The strong positive correlation (0.8442) between the “hunger exists” and “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tones is perhaps indicative of strong debate. If the problem exists then the activities of political actors will generate stories with a focus on saving the policy tool. This in turn, might result in stories refuting the need to save the program. Or, such stories may arise independently. Regardless, the strong positive correlation between the “hunger exists” and both the “cut SNAP/food stamps” and “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tones demonstrates that the “hunger exists” meta-tone did not suppress the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone.

Hypothesis H3 is rejected for Agriculture Act of 2014. The result is the exact opposite of what would be expected. The “hunger exists” meta-tone has a moderately positive correlation (0.4921) to the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone, and a negative correlation (-0.0253) to the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone. This is also interesting because of the four pieces of legislation; the 2014 Act had the greatest number of hunger problem frames during the two years before passage of the bill. Obviously, something

other than a correlation between meta-tones is occurring. To explore this further, the next hypotheses seek to determine if there are significant correlations between not just meta-tones, but the meta-tones of either the problem or policy tool frames.

5.1.5 Relationship Between Frames and the “Save SNAP/Food Stamps” and “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps” Meta-tones

This section expands our view of the relationship between frames and meta-tones. It explores whether or not there is a correlation between the “hunger” problem frame and “SNAP/Food Stamps” policy tool frame and the “cut SNAP/food stamps” and “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tones depending on whether or not the legislation increased or decreased benefits. The following four hypotheses were tested to explore these relationships:

- H4.** There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.
- H5.** There is a positive correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.
- H6.** There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.
- H7.** There is a negative correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.

The data in Table 20 shows that Hypothesis H4 is confirmed for The Food Stamp Act of 1977. As expected, there is a positive correlation (0.7977) between the appearance of the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps

policy tool frames in the two years before passage of a policy tool that increases benefits.

Table 20. Correlation Between Policy Tool Frames and the “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps” and Save “SNAP/Food Stamps” Meta-Tones

SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames			
Legislation	Cut SNAP/Food Stamps	Save SNAP/Food Stamps	Bill Increased or Decreased Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977			
Total for All Four Years	0.5291	0.8337	Increased
Before Passage of Bill	0.1509	0.7977	
After Passage of Bill	-0.0570	0.8350	
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008			
Total for All Four Years	0.0265	0.9512	Increased
Before Passage of Bill	-0.4299	0.8604	
After Passage of Bill	-0.0462	0.9885	
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996			
Total for All Four Years	0.7093	0.7143	Decreased
Before Passage of Bill	0.9140	0.8628	
After Passage of Bill	-0.1388	0.6857	
The Agriculture Act of 2014			
Total for All Four Years	0.8048	0.8952	Decreased
Before Passage of Bill	0.7539	0.8451	
After Passage of Bill	-0.2238	0.5162	

The fact that there is a weak (0.1509) correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” and the SNAP policy tool frame where the benefits were increased is also expected. Hypothesis H4 is also confirmed for the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008. There is a strong correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. There is also a negative correlation

between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and “SNAP/food stamps” policy tool frame.

Hypothesis H5 is confirmed for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, which decreased benefits. There is a strong positive correlation (0.9140) between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. However, there is also a strong correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. As with the comparison of meta-tones in the previous section, this may reflect the fact that there was vigorous debate around the topic of cutting or saving benefits in the two years before passage of the 1996 act. Hypothesis H5 is also confirmed for the Agriculture Act of 2014, which decreased benefits. There is a strong positive correlation (0.7539) between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. However, there is also a strong correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame. Again, as with the 1996 act, which also decreased benefits the fact that there are positive correlations for both the cut and save meta-tones may reflect a debate of equal intensity to cut or save SNAP.

As shown in Table 21 hypothesis H6 is unexpectedly rejected for The Food Stamp Act of 1977. There is almost no correlation (0.0267) between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame. As discussed for hypotheses H4, and H5, the absence of correlation may be because there were so few hunger problem frame stories. The result of rejection is consistent, however with the rejection of hypothesis H2, for the 1977 act.

Hypothesis H6 is rejected for the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008. The correlation (0.0269) is as weak as that for the 1977 act, and it too is consistent with the rejection of hypothesis for H2 for the 2008 act.

Table 21. Correlation Between Hunger Problem Frames and the “Cut SNAP/Food Stamps” and Save “SNAP/Food Stamps” Meta-Tones

Hunger Problem Frames			
Bill	Cut SNAP/Food Stamps	Save SNAP/Food Stamps	Bill Increased or Decreased Benefits
The Food Stamp Act of 1977			
Total for All Four Years	-0.1207	0.0230	Increased
Before Passage of Bill	-0.1387	0.0267	
After Passage of Bill	-0.0519	0.1769	
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008			
Total for All Four Years	0.1289	0.1873	Increased
Before Passage of Bill	0.0177	0.0269	
After Passage of Bill	0.1480	0.1758	
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996			
Total for All Four Years	0.1358	0.1520	Decreased
Before Passage of Bill	0.1851	0.4330	
After Passage of Bill	0.6655	-0.2207	
The Agriculture Act of 2014			
Total for All Four Years	0.2856	0.0892	Decreased
Before Passage of Bill	0.1196	-0.2192	
After Passage of Bill	0.3627	-0.5634	

Hypothesis H7, that there is a negative correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame before legislation that decreases benefits is passed, is confirmed. Table 21 shows that there is a very weak correlation between the hunger problem frame and the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone of 0.1851

for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and 0.1196 for the Agriculture Act of 2014. This result is expected. Table 22 gives a summary of the status of all the hypotheses.

Table 22. Summary of Hypotheses Results

Bill	The Food Stamp Act of 1977	The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996	The Agriculture Act of 2014
	Increases Benefits		Decreases Benefits	
H1 In the quarter before the passage of legislation (a policy tool) that increases benefits, the number of hunger problem frames will be greater than SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames, and the number of SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames will be greater when the legislation decreases benefits.	Rejected	Rejected	Confirmed	Confirmed
H2. There is a positive correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “Save SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.	Rejected	Rejected	--	--
H3. There is a negative correlation between the “hunger exists” meta-tone and the meta-tone of “cut SNAP/food stamps,” in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.	--	--	Rejected	Rejected
H4. There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.	Confirmed	Confirmed	--	--

H5. There is a positive correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.	--	--	Confirmed	Confirmed
H6. There is a positive correlation between the “save SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that increases benefits.	Rejected	Rejected	--	--
H7. There is a negative correlation between the “cut SNAP/food stamps” meta-tone and the hunger problem frame in the two years before passage of legislation that decreases benefits.	--	--	Confirmed	Confirmed

The common factor in these results is that the majority of hypotheses were unexpectedly rejected when the bill increased benefits, and the majority of hypotheses were confirmed when the bill decreased benefits. More study would be required to determine the significance of this, but it is a fact that the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives when bills increased benefits and Republican’s controlled the House when bills decreased benefits. This raises a few questions. Is a political party’s long-standing preference for increasing or decreasing anti-hunger legislation more significant than information conveyed in the media? Do the meta-tones in the media merely reflect the “messaging” of each party? If so, what role is being performed by the Journalist? Is the journalist informing the public or merely repeating a source’s “spin” or meta-tone? The answers will have to come from future studies.

Up to this point, we have determined that regardless of whether or not a bill increases or decreases benefits policy tool frames outnumber hunger problem frames in all instances, except after passage of the 2014 act, which decreased benefits. In that case, there were double the number of problem hunger frames than policy tool frames (see Table 13). Excluding the “reader decides” meta-tone, the percentage of “save SNAP/food stamps” articles is greater than any other meta-tone (see Figure 5). We have examined the relationship between meta-tones regardless of the frame in which they reside (Table 19), as well as, meta-tones in problem frames and policy tool frames (Tables 20 and 21). The one relationship we have not explored is perhaps the simplest one. Are the key terms, hunger or hungry which, describe the problem that SNAP/food stamps policy tool is intended to address mentioned in SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame articles?

5.1.6 Mentions of “Hunger” in SNAP/Food Stamps Policy Tool Frames

By definition hunger problem frames are going to mention the words hunger or hungry. However, there is no requirement that SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames mention the words hunger or hungry. There is no requirement, logical or otherwise, that forces a mention or linking of the problem with a policy tool frame, although a reader might reasonably expect this. This is the difficulty created by the unique nature of problems. While problems themselves— such as hunger, crime, terrorism, etc. stand alone, policy problems can have different identities, including “policy problem,” “policy goal problem,” “policy tool problem,” or “policy end problem.” This ability or character of a problem to be both stand-alone or attached to the other elements of the policy process we have defined is potentially the single greatest cause of confusion for journalists reporting

on policy. As Patterson reminds us, “journalists tend to focus on problems” (2013, p. 91). What this study is intended to demonstrate to them is that as they report on policy tool problems, they should also maintain the connection to *the* problem, in this case, hunger. Perhaps the simplest indicator of a connection or disconnect between the policy tool and the problem is whether or not the terms denoting *the* problem are mentioned in the policy tool frame.¹⁰³

The SNAP/food stamps policy tool frame articles were reviewed to identify those that contain: a mention of hunger or hungry as a stand-alone concept (a problem); hunger or hungry is included in the title of an organization; and the number of articles that contained no mention of hunger or hungry either as a stand-alone concept or in the name of an organization. In cases where hunger was mentioned as a stand-alone concept and in the name of an organization, the article was counted only once, and its count was put in the mentions hunger or hungry column. Figure 11 focuses on the key two-year period before a bill is passed. It shows the that percentage of articles that mention hunger ranges from 10% to 28%. Figure 12 shows the percentages for two years before and after the bill is passed. In that case, the ranges are almost identical, a low of 8% and a high of 28%. What this tell us is that, at most, only 28% of articles focused on the policy tool intended to address the problem of hunger mention the problem. Table 23 shows the mentions of hunger by the individual newspaper for each of the key pieces of legislation. The most significant result shown in this table is that no one paper seems to ignore hunger (or hungry people) more than any other. Figures 13 through 14 give a graphical

¹⁰³ By definition hunger and/or hungry will be mention in hunger problem frames so those frames are excluded.

representation of the number of articles that mention and don't mention hunger. The gap between the mentions of hunger columns and the line representing the number of

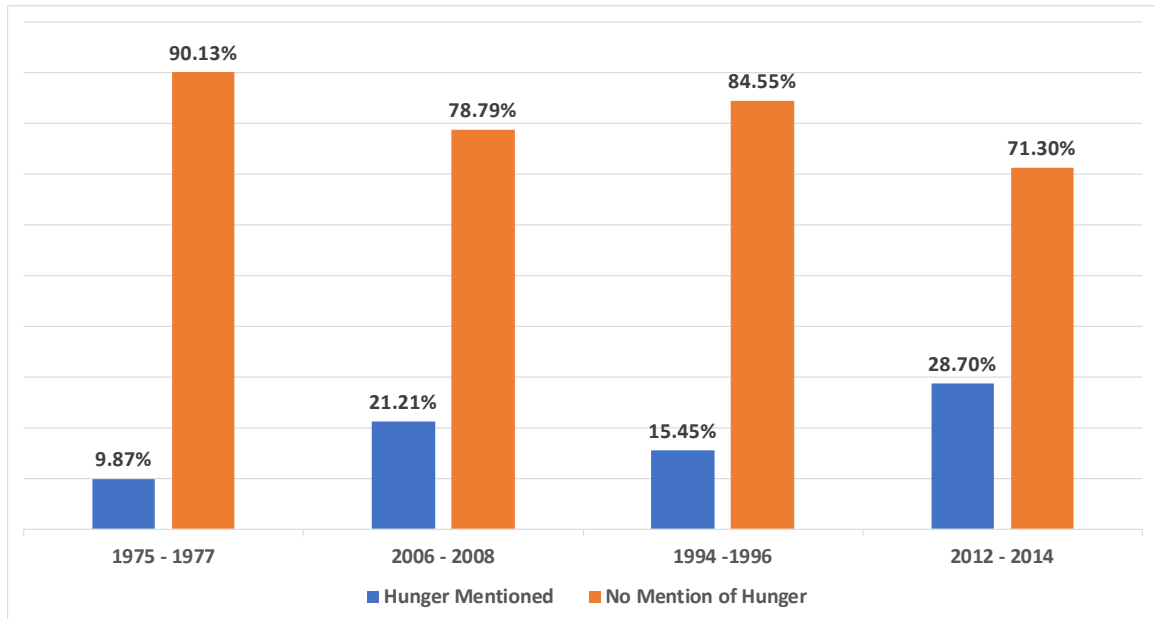


Figure 11. The Percentage of SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Articles that Mention Hunger, Two Years Prior to Passage of Legislation

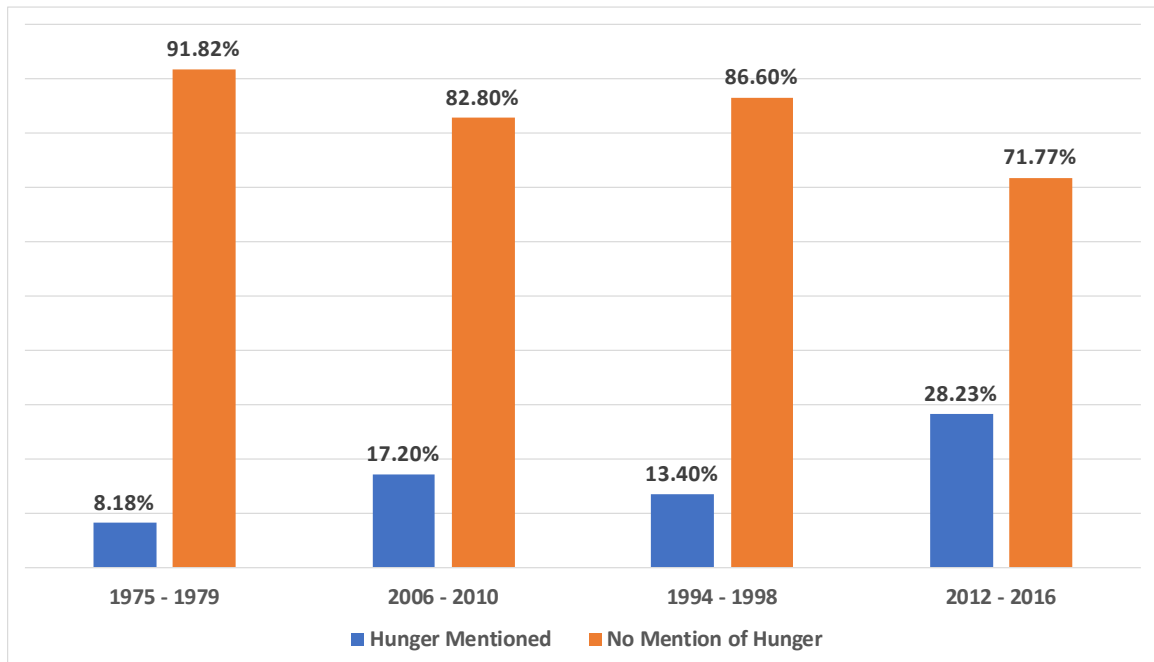


Figure 12. Percentage of SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frame Articles that Mention Hunger in the Two Years Before and After Passage of the Legislation

SNAP/food stamp policy tool frames are the discussion “space” in which SNAP/food stamps is being discussed without any mention of the problem that policy tool was intended to address.

Table 23. Mentions of Hunger or Hungry in SNAP/Food Stamps Policy Tool Frames for Each Piece of Legislation, by Newspaper

		Mentions of Hunger or Hungry	Hunger Mentioned in Name of Organization Only	No Mention of Hunger or Hungry	Total
The Food Stamp Act of 1977					
	New York Times	9	0	94	103
	Washington Post	5	4	108	117
	USA Today*				
	Total	14	4	202	220
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
	New York Times	5	0	53	61
	Washington Post	7	3	11	21
	USA Today	1	0	10	11
	Total	13	3	74	90
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996					
	New York Times	16	1	83	98
	Washington Post	7	1	85	92
	USA Today	3	0	16	19
	Total	26	2	184	212
The Agriculture Act of 2014					
	New York Times	14	5	45	64
	Washington Post	11	2	34	47
	USA Today	2	1	10	13
	Total	27	8	89	124
	Total	80	17	549	646

*Note: There is no data for USA Today because it did not begin publication until 1982.

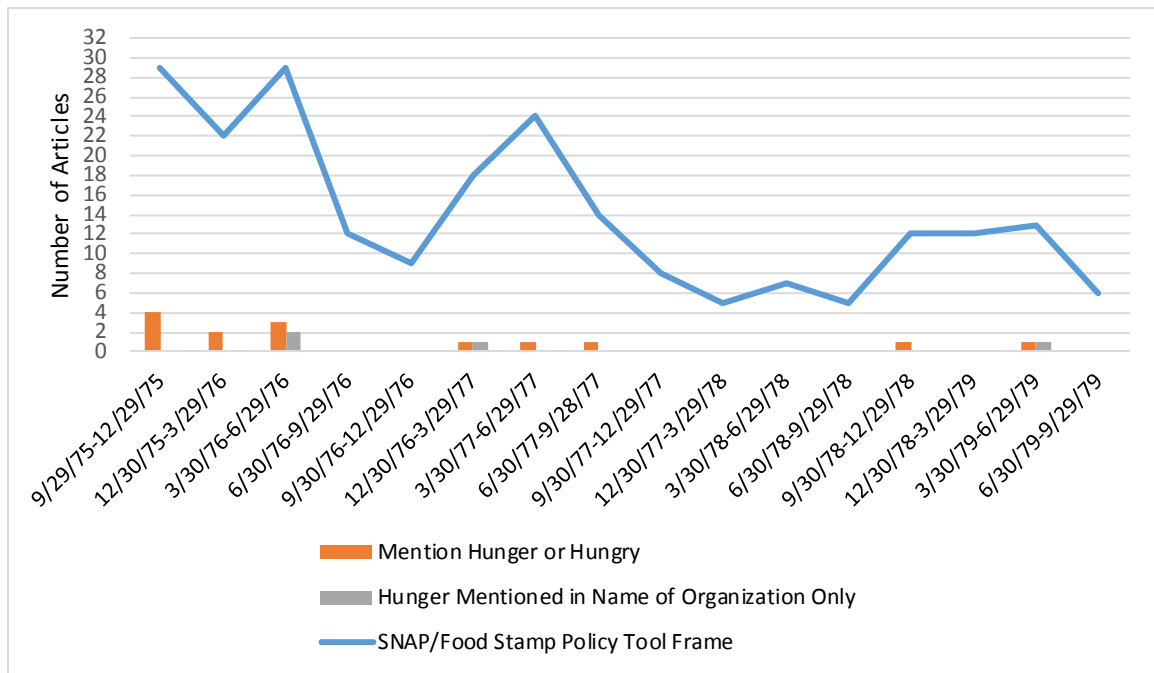


Figure 13. Mentions of Hunger or Hungry in SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food Stamp Act of 1977, Increased Benefits

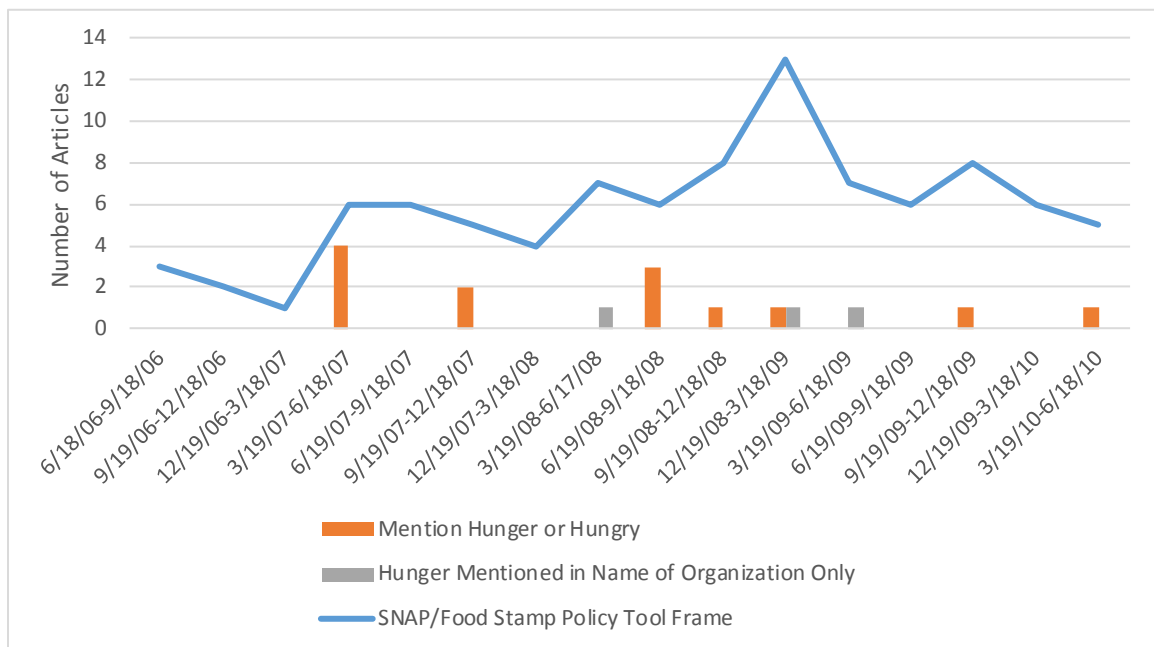


Figure 14. Mentions of Hunger or Hungry in SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, Increased Benefits

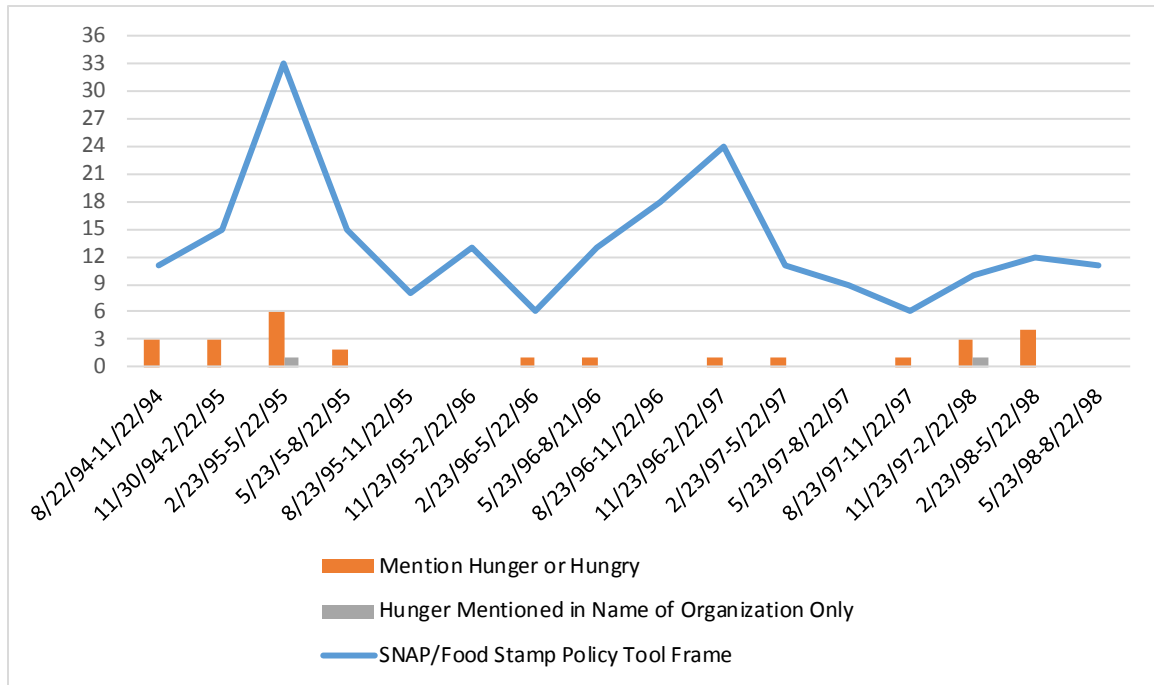


Figure 15. Mentions of Hunger or Hungry in SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, Decreased Benefits

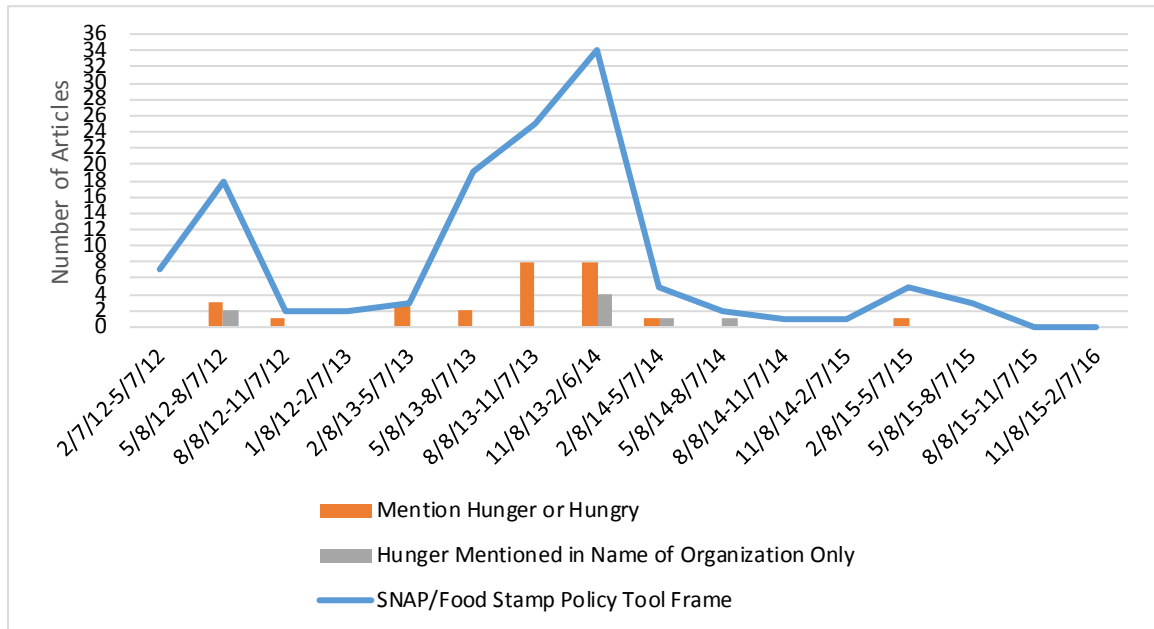


Figure 16. Mentions of Hunger or Hungry in SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Agriculture Act of 2014, Decreased Benefits

5.2 Research Question 2: What is the Relationship of Target Populations and Legislation?

Assessing the relationship between Schnieder and Ingram's social constructions of target populations (advantaged, dependent, contenders, and outliers) and problem and policy tool frames is fairly straightforward. These four constructions rank groups according to their political power (weak/strong) and their image (positive/negative). "Dependents," such as mothers, children, and the poor are politically weak but have a positive image. The "advantaged," such as senior citizens, business owners, and the military are politically strong and have a positive image. The "outliers," the homeless, criminals, and so forth are politically weak and have a negative image (Ingram et al., 2007, p. 103). Table 24 shows two key points. First, the social construction of the target or intended recipients of the policy tool SNAP/food stamps or the group affected by the problem of hunger is overwhelmingly the same, dependents. "Dependents" comprise 90% (587 of 648) of the social construction of policy tool frames and 97% (240 of 246) of the social construction of problem frames. Second, the comparison of the social construction of the problem frames and the social construction of the policy tool frames shown in Figures 17 through 20 does not reveal any apparent relationship either between problem and policy tool frame constructions or not the legislation increased or decreased benefits.

Table 24. Total Number of Dependent, Outlier and Advantaged Social Constructions by Frame and Legislation

	Tool Frame - Dependent	Tool Frame - Outlier	Tool Frame - Advantaged
The Food Stamp Act of 1977	185	33	2
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliations Act of 1996	194	17	1
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	89	0	1
The Agriculture Act of 2014	117	7	0
Total	585	57	4
	Problem Frame - Dependent	Problem Frame - Outlier	Problem Frame - Advantaged
The Food Stamp Act of 1977	7	2	0
The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliations Act of 1996	74	0	1
The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008	74	0	2
The Agriculture Act of 2014	85	0	3
Total	240	2	6

With the Food Stamp Act of 1977, which increased there are too few hunger problem frames to be of any significance, Figure 17. Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, which also increased benefits shows periods where problem frames were more numerous than policy tool frames, Figure 18.

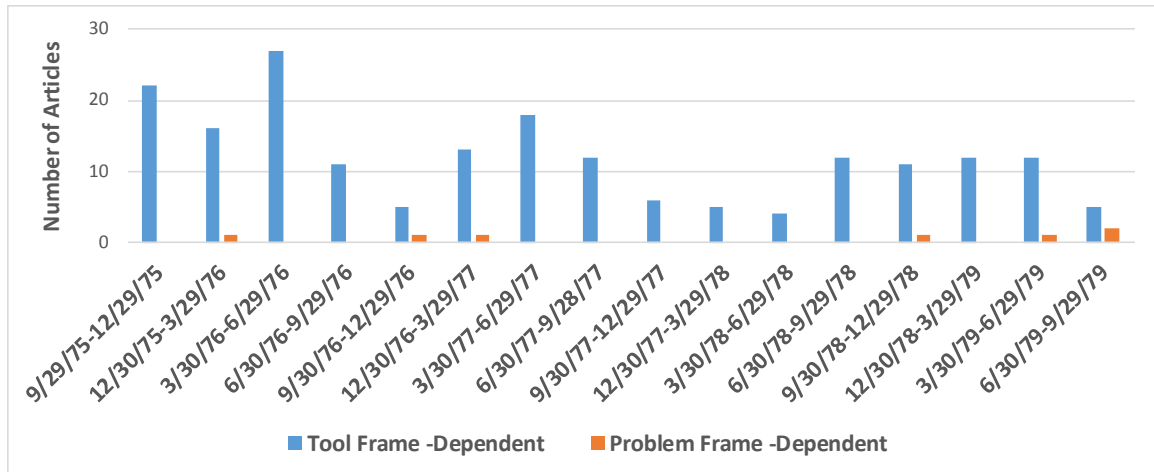


Figure 17. Problem and Policy Tool Target Social Constructions for The Food Stamp Act of 1977

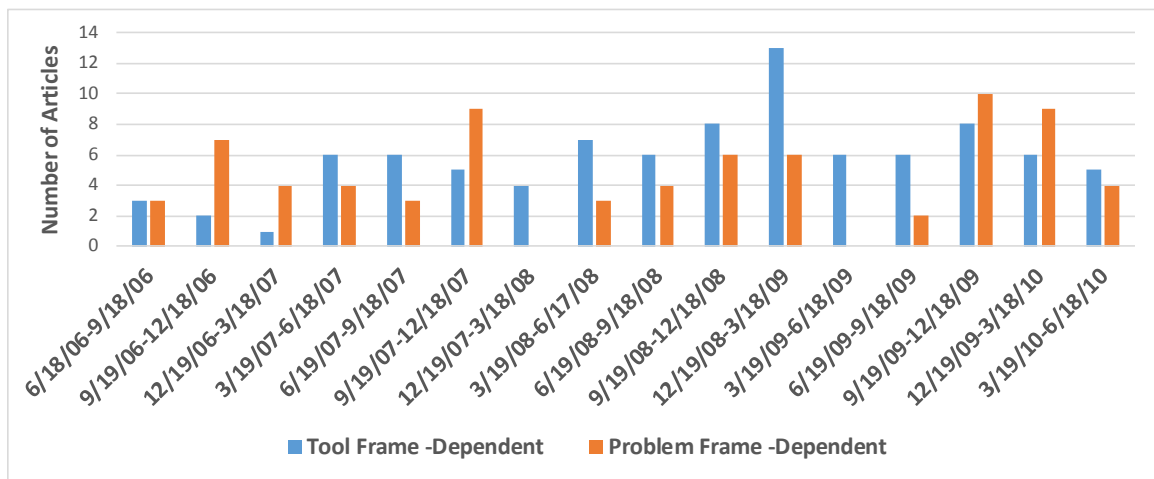


Figure 18. Problem and Policy Tool Frame Social Constructions for the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008

Figures 19 and 20 show the problem and policy tool frame social constructions for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and the Agriculture Act of 2014, both of which decreased SNAP/food benefits.

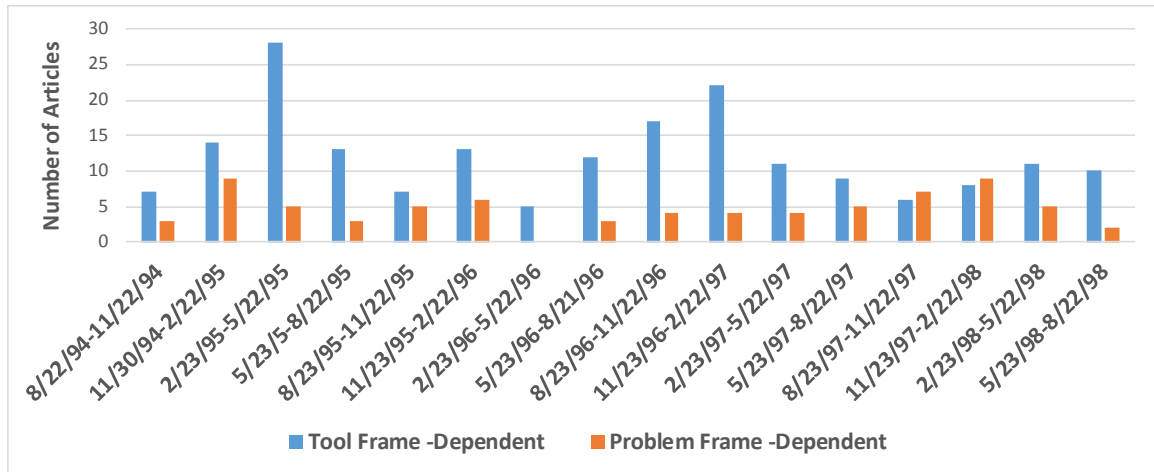


Figure 19. Problem and Policy Tool Target Social Constructions for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

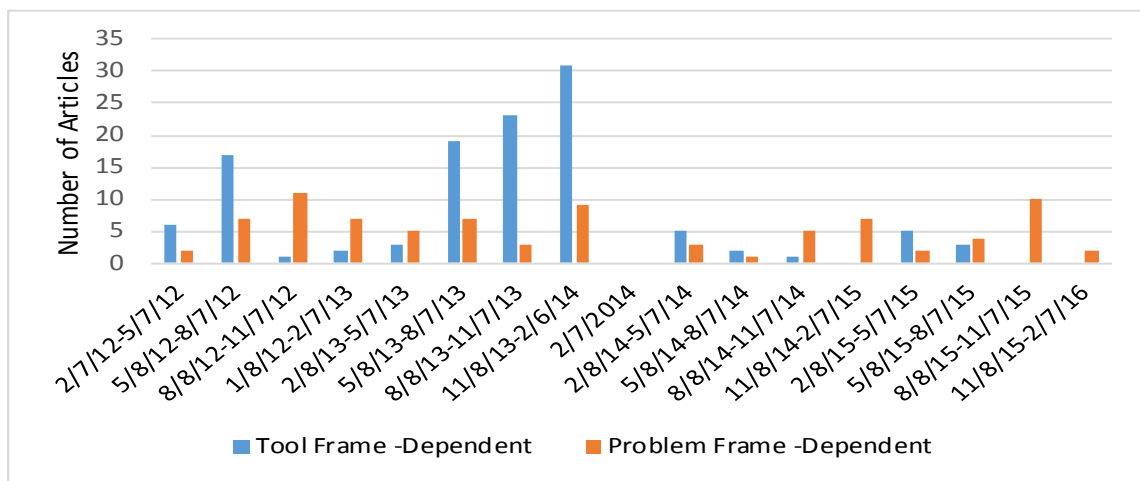


Figure 20. Problem and Policy Tool Target Social Constructions for The Agriculture Act of 2014

In every quarter but one for the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, policy tool frame constructions outnumber problem frame constructions. But the pattern is mixed for the Agriculture Act of 2014, with alternating periods of problem frame constructions outnumbering policy tool frame construction.

The fact that the overwhelming number of target social constructions are “dependent” has an interesting implication. It means that other constructions are missing.

While obvious, this is important due to what might be termed the vigorous discussion, or even a debate, that is ongoing within the anti-hunger community. Namely, what is most compelling “face” to put on the hunger problem, children or seniors? Robert Egger, a recipient of a McArthur Foundation Fellowship (the “genius” grant), makes the observation that “seniors vote, children don’t” (personal communication, August 28, 2016). His argument is that not only are seniors more likely to have an impact on policy; the senior hunger problem is a tsunami rushing toward unsuspecting State and local governments due to the graying of the population (ibid.). In the context of this study, Schneider and Ingram’s theory supports Egger’s position that the anti-hunger community should focus on seniors. Seniors are an “advantaged” group, a group with the best social image and political power. Children are “dependents,” who have a positive social image but less (if any) political power. Even during the debate over The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, when thousands of middle-class people became unemployed and eligible for SNAP/food stamp benefits the target constructions were of the poor and children. It is pure conjecture to think that changing the target to a more powerful social construction will make a difference in SNAP/food stamp legislation. What is certain is that at least in the four bills studied in this project only the “dependent” construction has been employed.

5.3 Research Question 3: What is the Role of Sources?

The pattern that emerges from an examination of the role of sources related to the four pieces of legislation that are being studied is that there is no pattern. Table 25 gives the number of citations by source for The Food Stamp Act of 1977 and The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, both of which increased benefits. The largest variation of a source between the two acts is source 16, which is the anti-hunger groups. The most likely reason that they represent 1% of the citations in 1977 and 17% in 2008 is the fact that many of these groups did not exist in 1977. Table 26 gives the number of citations by source for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and The Agriculture Act of 2014. In 1995-1997 time-frame they represent 10% of the citations and 20% in 2012-2016. The low number in 1995-1997 might be the result of the fact that the food stamp program was only part of a broader discussion of welfare reform and so there were fewer food stamp policy frame stories. Figures 21 through 24 show the number of citations for each source by individual pieces of legislation. The figures are ordered so that the same page shows the legislation increasing benefits and the next page the legislation decreasing benefits.

In the absence of a general trend, there is one question to consider concerning the relationship between anti-hunger groups and the media. Implicit in the critique of the media offered by anti-hunger groups as discussed in the introduction to this paper is the notion that the anti-hunger groups are not being heard. This a reflection of the broader question of the relationship of the anti-hunger groups and the media. There is also a third party in this relationship that should be considered. A claim of not being heard is

Table 25. Number of Source Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation That Increased Benefits

The Food Stamp Act of 1977								The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
1	Academic (author of a study or expert identified as an academic or affiliated with and institution)	1	0%	1	1%	2	0%	2	2%	9	6%	11	4%
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)	9	3%	4	3%	13	3%	9	9%	24	15%	33	12%
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)	2	1%	2	1%	4	1%	6	6%	4	2%	10	4%
4	Congressional member - House	25	9%	11	8%	36	9%	13	13%	5	3%	18	7%
5	Congressional member - Senate	24	9%	3	2%	27	7%	1	1%	2	1%	3	1%
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congressperson or senator)	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
7	Editorial board	15	6%	4	3%	19	5%	11	11%	5	3%	16	6%
8	Federal government provider of food stamps/SNAP (includes any USDA official or official of a USDA agency such as Food and Nutrition Service and Economic Research Service)	44	16%	35	24%	79	19%	5	5%	9	6%	14	5%

	The Food Stamp Act of 1977							The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
9	Federal government non-provider (officials of other federal agencies other than USDA such as Government Accounting (Accountability) Office and Health and Human Services	11	4%	1	1%	12	3%	3	3%	1	1%	4	2%
10	First lady	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
11	For profit enterprise leader (anyone operating or the officer of a for profit business such as a corporation and grocery store)	6	2%	1	1%	7	2%	1	1%	9	6%	10	4%
12	Journalist	11	4%	3	2%	14	3%	8	8%	9	6%	17	6%
13	Judge	4	1%	3	2%	7	2%	0	0%	2	1%	2	1%
14	Law enforcement official (Office of Inspector General agents, police officers, prosecutors)	13	5%	9	6%	22	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
15	Local government official (mayors, city agencies heads or staff)	5	2%	3	2%	8	2%	10	10%	11	7%	21	8%

	The Food Stamp Act of 1977							The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, “Feeding the Hungry, “New York City Coalition Against Hunger,” charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)	1	0%	5	3%	6	1%	14	14%	32	20%	46	17%
17	Non-Governmental Organization-not provider of benefits (Brookings Institute, Cato, American Enterprise Institute, Food Research and Action Center and so forth)	18	7%	8	6%	26	6%	12	12%	20	12%	32	12%
18	Opinion columnist	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
19	President	4	1%	3	2%	7	2%	0	0%	1	1%	1	0%
20	Presidential candidate	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%	2	1%
21	Presidential candidate surrogate/campaign staff	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
22	Presidential staffer (anyone working in the White House not the President)	2	1%	1	1%	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

The Food Stamp Act of 1977								The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)	2	1%	1	1%	3	1%	2	2%	1	1%	3	1%
25	State government non-provider of food stamps/SNAP (Any State government official that is not a State legislator, governor, head or staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)	2	1%	0	0%	2	0%	3	3%	1	1%	4	2%
26	State government provider of food stamps/SNAP (Governors, heads and staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)	23	9%	21	15%	44	11%	2	2%	14	9%	16	6%
27	State legislator	44	16%	23	16%	67	16%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		268	1	144		412		103		163		266	

Table 26. Number of Source Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation That Decreased Benefits

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996								The Agriculture Act of 2014					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
1	Academic (author of a study or expert identified as an academic or affiliated with and institution)	3	1%	8	3%	11	2%	11	4%	9	7%	20	5%
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)	10	4%	16	6%	26	5%	23	8%	9	7%	32	8%
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)	7	3%	6	2%	13	3%	12	4%	7	6%	19	5%
4	Congressional member - House	45	17%	21	8%	66	13%	36	12%	9	7%	45	11%
5	Congressional member - Senate	40	15%	12	5%	52	10%	19	6%	0	0%	19	5%
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congressperson or senator)	3	1%	0	0%	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
7	Editorial board	21	8%	18	7%	39	8%	24	8%	3	2%	27	6%
8	Federal government provider of food stamps/SNAP (includes any USDA official or official of a USDA agency such as Food and Nutrition Service and Economic Research Service)	19	7%	5	2%	24	5%	11	4%	3	2%	14	3%

	The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996	The Agriculture Act of 2014											
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
9	Federal government non-provider (officials of other federal agencies other than USDA such as Government Accounting (Accountability) Office and Health and Human Services	4	2%	5	2%	9	2%	2	1%	0	0%	2	0%
10	First lady	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
11	For profit enterprise leader (anyone operating or the officer of a for profit business such as a corporation and grocery store)	4	2%	17	7%	21	4%	13	4%	2	2%	15	4%
12	Journalist	13	5%	15	6%	28	5%	21	7%	1	1%	22	5%
13	Judge	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
14	Law enforcement official (Office of Inspector General agents, police officers, prosecutors)	7	3%	8	3%	15	3%	2	1%	1	1%	3	1%
15	Local government official (mayors, city agencies heads or staff)	6	2%	23	9%	29	6%	8	3%	9	7%	17	4%

	The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996							The Agriculture Act of 2014					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, “Feeding the Hungry, “New York City Coalition Against Hunger,” charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)	27	10%	25	10%	52	10%	52	18%	34	27%	86	20%
17	Non-Governmental Organization-not provider of benefits (Brookings Institute, Cato, American Enterprise Institute, Food Research and Action Center and so forth)	20	8%	21	8%	41	8%	32	11%	18	14%	50	12%
18	Opinion columnist	7	3%	5	2%	12	2%	15	5%	12	10%	27	6%
19	President	7	3%	8	3%	15	3%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
20	Presidential candidate	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	3	1%	1	1%	4	1%
21	Presidential candidate surrogate/campaign staff	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
22	Presidential staffer (anyone working in the White House not the President)	2	1%	2	1%	4	1%	2	1%	0	0%	2	0%
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996								The Agriculture Act of 2014					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
25	State government non-provider of food stamps/SNAP (Any State government official that is not a State legislator, governor, head or staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)	2	1%	4	2%	6	1%	2	1%	1	1%	3	1%
26	State government provider of food stamps/SNAP (Governors, heads and staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)	16	6%	26	10%	42	8%	4	1%	7	6%	11	3%
27	State legislator	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
		266		251		517		296		126		422	

Table 27. Codes Employed in Figures 25 Through 28

		Chart Code
Anti-Hunger Group		
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)	AH 2
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)	AH 3
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, “Feeding the Hungry, “New York City Coalition Against Hunger,” charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)	AH 16
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service	AH 23
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious, charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)	AH 24
Congressional Group		
4	Congressional member – House	CH 4
5	Congressional member - Senate	CS 5
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congress person or Senator)	C 6
Media		
7	Editorial board	ME 7
12	Journalist	MJ 12

important because of the potential impact or lack thereof on legislation, and Congress.

Congressional sources are important because it is Congress that will increase or decrease benefits.¹⁰⁴ To show this relationship, individual sources were grouped into three categories: anti-hunger (AH), Congressional (C), and media (M). Table 27 shows the individual sources and how they are grouped. Because some source names are very detailed, all sources were assigned abbreviations to accommodate the limited space on

¹⁰⁴ This of course usually depends on presidential approval. However, only one of the four pieces of legislation in this study was ever vetoed (The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008), and Congress overrode two vetoes of that bill.

charts. These codes are also given in Table 27. Figures 25 through 28 show the relationship between the three key groups of sources during the two years before and after the passage of the different bills. In the figures, sources are group by their relationship.

Figures 25 through 28 reveal two important relationships. One, anti-hunger sources are being cited. They are being heard. In particular, as Figure 28 shows, they were the most cited group of sources before the passage of the 2014 Act, which implemented the most significant cut to benefits of all the pieces of legislation studied. A general relationship is that there are more citations from Congressional sources before the passage of the legislation than after it passes. This is hardly surprising; congressional involvement diminishes once a bill is passed. One might expect that anti-hunger groups might have the reverse trend, especially if the bill decreases benefits. They are engaged before the bill passes and then perhaps more engaged as they deal with the negative consequences of a decrease in benefits. However, Figures 27 and 28 show that there were fewer citations after the passage of legislation decreasing benefits. Despite the lack of a specific trend, one thing the data makes clear is that the anti-hunger community did have a “voice” in media stories related to 1996, 2008, and 2014 bills.

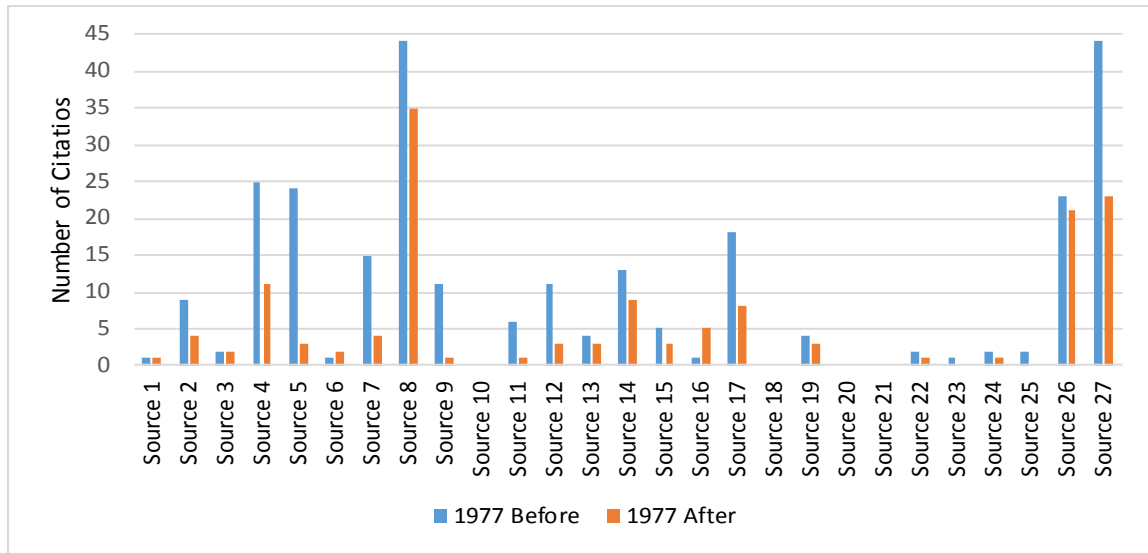


Figure 21. Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation, by Source for The Food Stamp Act of 1977

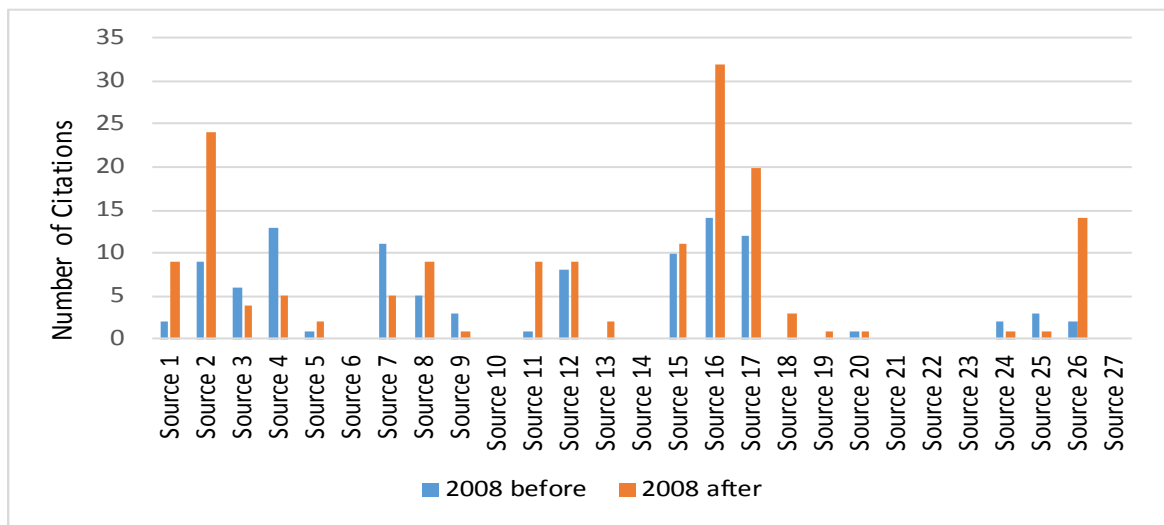


Figure 22. Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation, by Source for The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008

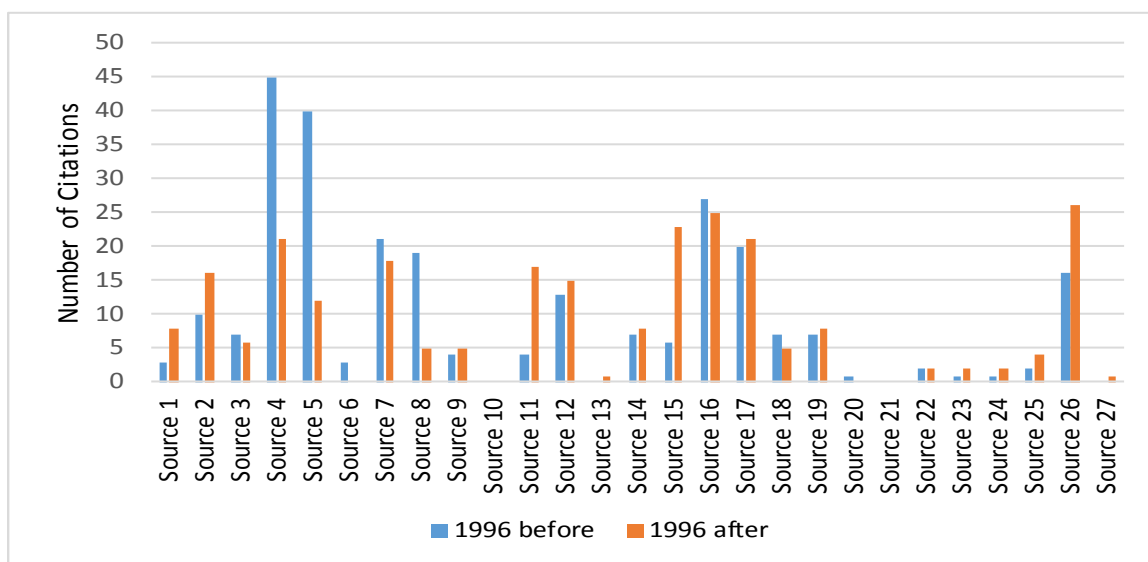


Figure 23. Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation, by Source for The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

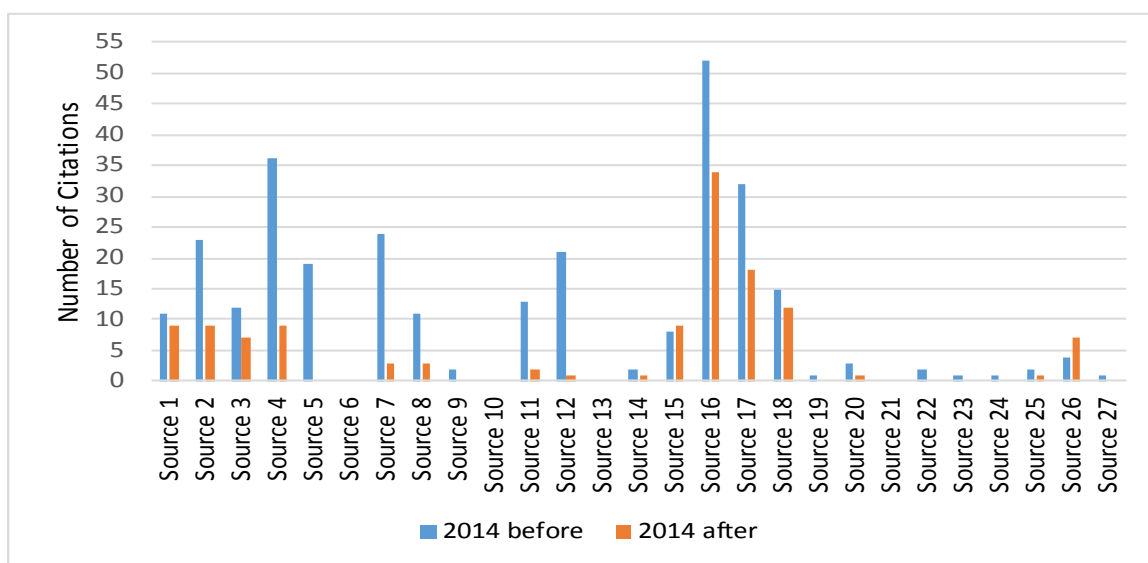


Figure 24. Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation, by Source for The Agriculture Act of 2014

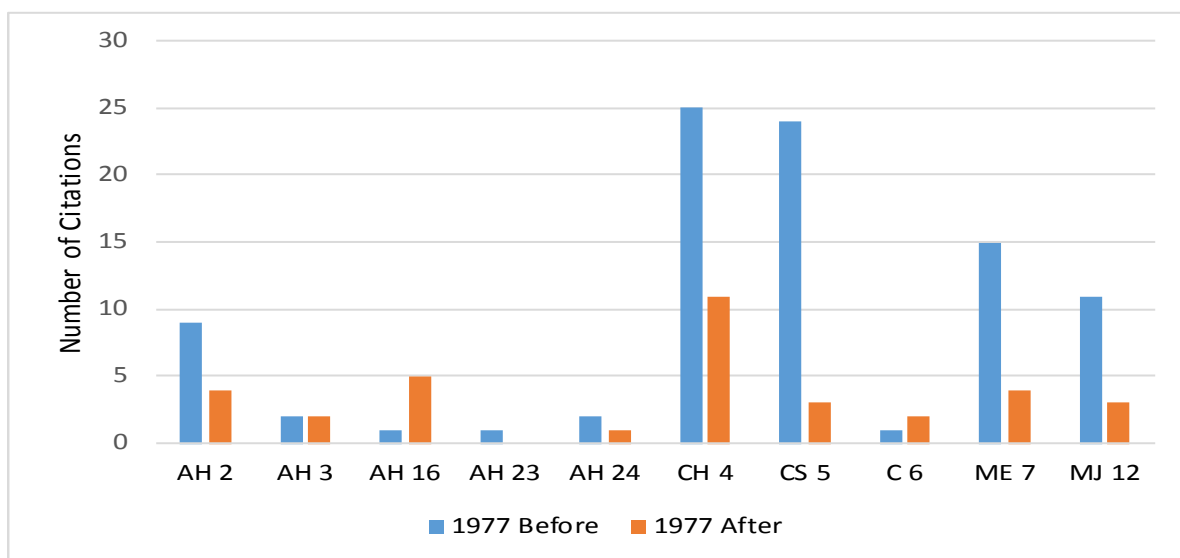


Figure 25. Citations by Major Groups of Sources: Anti-hunger (AH), Congressional (CH-House; CS-Senate), and Media (ME-Editorial; MJ-Journalists), Before and After Passage of Food Stamp Act of 1977 that Increased Benefits

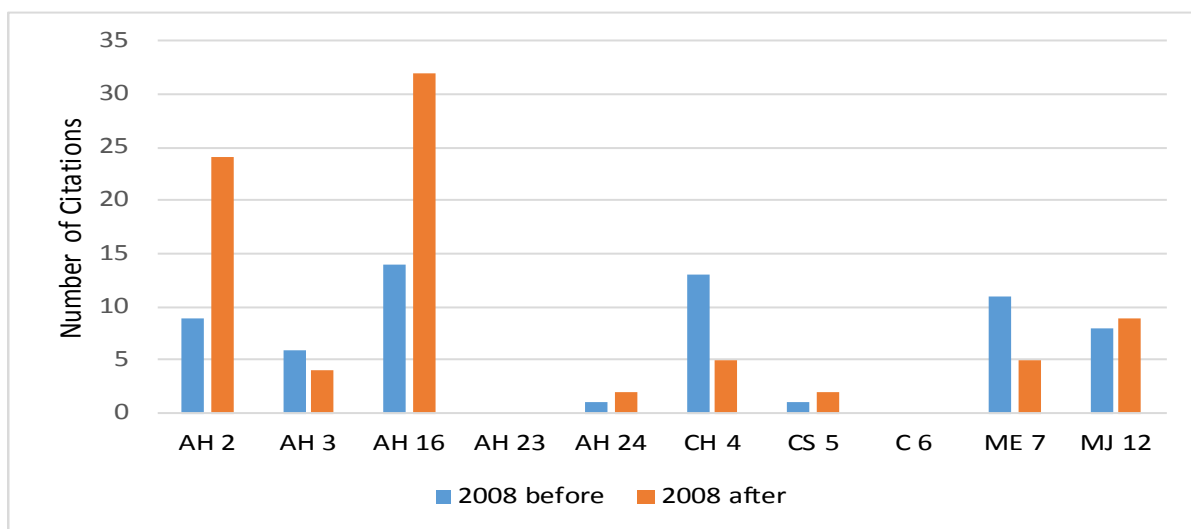


Figure 26. Citations by Major Groups of Sources: Anti-hunger (AH), Congressional (CH-House; CS-Senate), and Media (ME-Editorial; MJ-Journalists), Before and After Passage of The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 that Increased Benefits

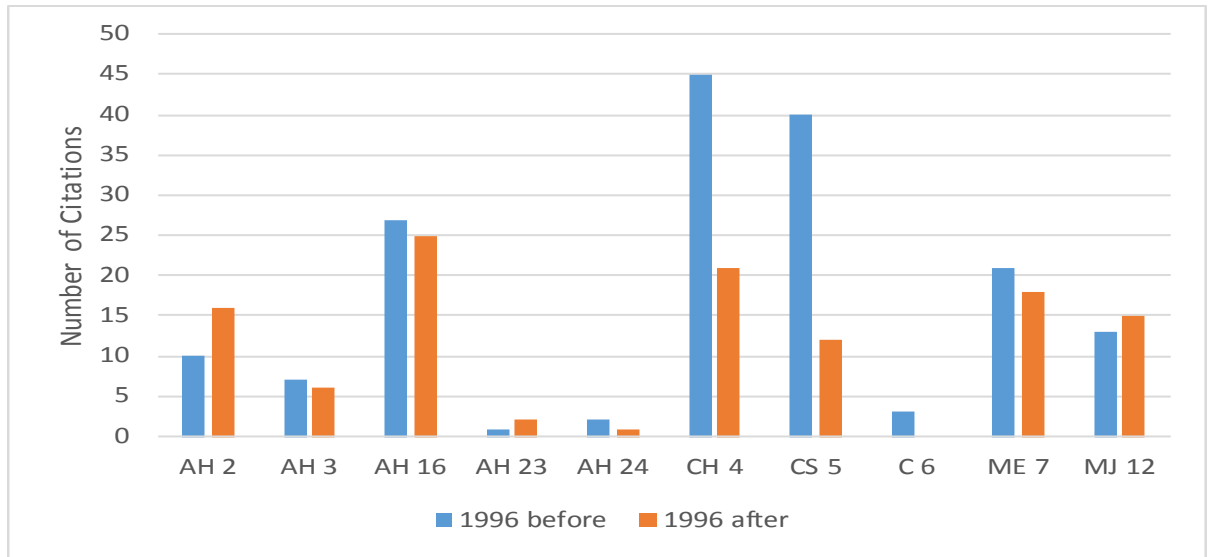


Figure 27. Citations by Major Groups of Sources: Anti-hunger (AH), Congressional (CH-House; CS-Senate), and Media (ME-Editorial; MJ-Journalists), Before and After Passage of The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 that Decreased Benefits

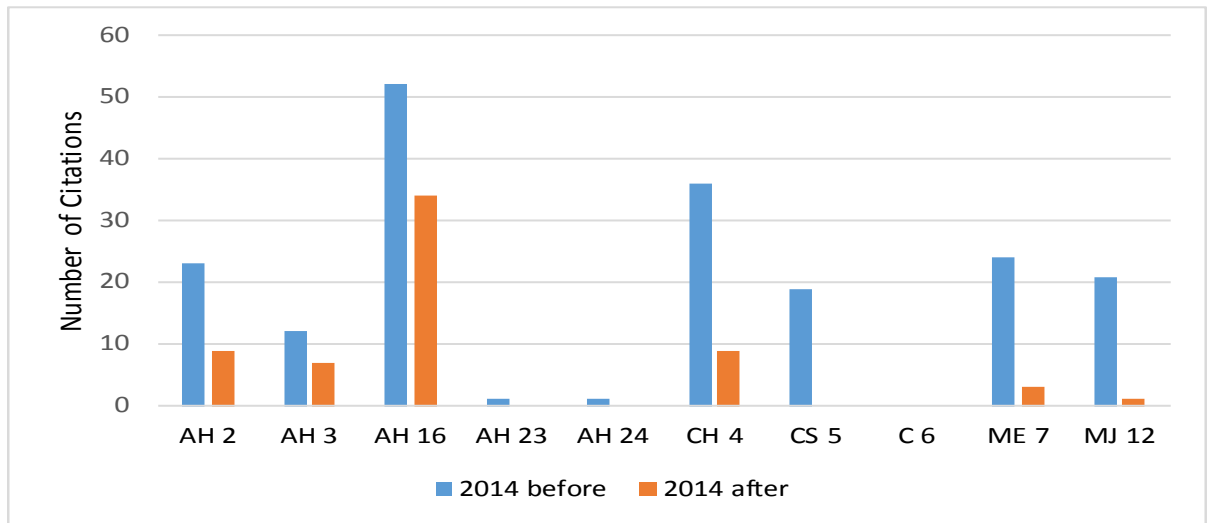


Figure 28. Citations by Major Groups of Sources: Anti-hunger (AH), Congressional (CH-House; CS-Senate), and Media (ME-Editorial; MJ-Journalists), Before and After Passage of The Agriculture Act of 2014 that Decreased Benefits

Table 28. Number of Anti-Hunger Group, Congressional, and Media Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation That Increased Benefits

The Food Stamp Act of 1977								The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
Anti-Hunger													
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)	9	3%	4	3%	13	3%	9	9%	24	15%	33	12%
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)	2	1%	2	1%	4	1%	6	6%	4	2%	10	4%
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, "Feeding the Hungry, "New York City Coalition Against Hunger," charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)	1	0%	5	3%	6	1%	14	14%	32	20%	46	17%
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious, charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)	2	1%	1	1%	3	1%	2	2%	1	1%	3	1%
	Total	15	2%	12	6%	27	3%	47	15%	50	14%	97	14%
Congressional													
4	Congressional member - House	25	9%	11	8%	36	9%	13	13%	5	3%	18	7%
5	Congressional member - Senate	24	9%	3	2%	27	7%	1	1%	2	1%	3	1%

	The Food Stamp Act of 1977							The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congressperson or senator)	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Media													
7	Editorial Board	15	6%	4	3%	19	5%	11	11%	5	3%	16	6%
12	Journalist	11	4%	3	2%	14	3%	8	8%	9	6%	17	6%
	Total	26		7		33		19		14		33	

Table 29. Number of Anti-Hunger Group, Congressional, and Media Citations Before and After Passage of Legislation That Decreased Benefits

	The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996							The Agriculture Act of 2014					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
Anti-Hunger													
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)	10	4%	16	6%	26	5%	23	8%	9	7%	32	25%
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)	7	3%	6	2%	13	3%	12	4%	7	6%	19	15%
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, “Feeding the Hungry, “New York City Coalition Against Hunger,”	27	10%	25	10%	52	10%	52	18%	34	27%	86	68%

		The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996						The Agriculture Act of 2014					
		Before	%	After	%	Total	%	Before	%	After	%	Total	%
	charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)												
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	1	0%	0	0%	1	1%
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)	2	2%	1	1%	3	1%	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
	Total												
Congressional													
4	Congressional member - House	45	17%	21	8%	66	13%	36	12%	9	7%	45	36%
5	Congressional member - Senate	40	15%	12	5%	52	10%	19	6%	0	0%	19	15%
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congressperson or senator)	3	1%	0	0%	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Media													
7	Editorial Board	21	8%	18	7%	39	8%	24	8%	3	2%	27	21%
12	Journalist	13	5%	15	6%	28	5%	21	7%	1	1%	22	17%
	Total	34		33		76		45		4		49	

What makes this result even more unexpected is that the number of citations increased after the passage of legislation that *increases* benefits. The reason for these two apparently counter-intuitive results could not be determined with the data at hand.

5.4 Research Question 4: Policy Categories and the Journalist

At a minimum, it is hoped that the category definitions in this project make clear the distinction between a problem and a policy tool and a policy tool problem. One overriding criticism of the SNAP/food stamp program is its costs. Eli Saslow in one article that was part of his Pulitzer Prize-winning series on food stamps said:

Except this month had introduced a historic shift. The nation's food stamp program had just undergone its biggest cut in 50 years, the beginning of an attempt by *Congress to dramatically shrink the government's fastest-growing entitlement program, which had tripled in cost during the past decade to almost \$80 billion each year* (emphasis added, ed.). Starting in November, more than 47 million Americans had experienced decreases in their monthly benefit, averaging about 7 percent (Saslow, 2013b).

Clearly, Saslow sees the fast growth and tripling in cost as a problem. Using the categories defined in this study, these are policy tool problems. The “problem” of hunger (a word mentioned only once in the article), is separate and distinct from growth and cost. If that had been recognized, perhaps Saslow would have explored an additional line of inquiry, “what is causing the program to grow so quickly?” By not considering that a problem existed independent of the growth and cost, he missed a key element of the story. The SNAP/food stamp program is designed as an “economic stabilizer.” It is intended to grow quickly when the economy worsens (Ganong & Liebman, 2013). Economic stabilizing programs are *intentionally* designed to grow “fast,” as fast as the need demands. Economic stabilizing programs are designed with the understanding that assistance to certain members of the population cannot wait for the time it takes to

propose and pass legislation and appropriate funds. As to the cost, that is not a fault or flaw in the program; it is the consequence of the severity of the need (problem) the SNAP/food stamps is intended to address. These connections are not obvious, and they certainly are not in any high school curriculum. Making these connections is a clear operationalization of what it means to “inform” the public.

Finally, it is hoped that the emphasis on definition will lead journalists to consider carefully the words they use. On June 18, 2008, the Food Stamp program ceased to exist with the passage of the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008. It was replaced with the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP. Every time a journalist refers to food stamps instead of SNAP, they are breaking the first rule of journalism, accuracy. Every time they refer to food stamps as “formally known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program or SNAP,” they are perpetuating a connection to a term, food stamps, that has a negative connotation. If the government went to the trouble to pass legislation to literally go back and rename The Food Stamp Act of 1977 to The Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008, Title IV, Sec. 4001.), striking out all references to “food stamps,” is it appropriate to continue to use the term?

These are not inconsequential issues. On December 27, 2016, Fox News ran a story stating that according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, “70 Million Dollars was being wasted on Food Stamp fraud” (Maddow, December 28, 2016). As Ari Melber, the guest host pointed out; the Agriculture Department had not issued any new report. However, Breitbart News had just published a story with the headline, “Under Obama 10.7 Million More Use Food Stamps – a 32% Increase” (ibid.).¹⁰⁵ Food Stamps as a term

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.msnbc.com/transcripts/rachel-maddow-show/2016-12-28>

has been used by Republicans to rile the “base.” Both New Gingrich and Rick Santorum called President Obama, “The Food Stamp” President during their 2012 primary campaigns (ibid.). Journalists have to consider the power of these words and the fact that the food stamp program does not exist when reporting on these issues. They also have to consider what Melber calls the “classic sleight of hand, blaming a solution for the underlying problem” (ibid). Using the terms of this project, blaming or focusing on the policy tool problem and not *the* problem. The House of Representatives 2017 budget calls for \$150 billion dollars in cuts to SNAP over the next ten years (Rosenbaum & Keith-Jennings, 2016). As long as the Republicans only controlled Congress and not the White House, such cuts seemed unimaginable. Now with the election of Donald Trump, there may be many opportunities for journalists to practice separating problem from policy tool problems. As the Breitbart article demonstrates, some do not like the SNAP (food stamp) program, period. Unfortunately for the program’s proponents, one of those people may be Steve Bannon, the former CEO of Breitbart News and Senior Counselor to the President.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

This project began with the identification of a “revealing disconnect” between the rising need for nutrition assistance and the media’s acceptance of cuts to the very program providing assistance (the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program - SNAP). It is only fair therefore to ask, “what did the disconnect reveal?”

6.1 Definitions Are Key Explicating the Media-Policy Relationship

First, it revealed that even to ask the question, “what is going on?” one has to confront the fact that the definitions of “policy” are muddled at best, and non-existent, at worst. Before even beginning to tackle the questions surrounding the disconnect, the confusion caused by the literature’s unbridled use of the terms “problem” and especially “issue” to describe distinctly different concepts had to be confronted. This was done by providing mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive definitions for the term problem and the grouping the elements of the policy—policy, policy goal, policy tool, and policy end. The unique nature of the word “problem” and the fact that it could be applied to each of the elements of policy was addressed. The definitions developed here make clear the distinction between the problem and a policy tool problem. These definitions further made it clear that the disconnect could be positioned in a specific space within the media-policy relationship, the connection between “problem,” “policy tool,” and “policy tool problem.”

On one level, journalists can rightfully argue that they were not alone in supporting the cuts to the “Heat and Eat” program. The Republican-led House of Representatives, the Democratic Chairwoman of the Senate Agriculture Committee,

Debbie Stabenow, leading anti-hunger advocate Bob Greenstein, and even President Obama, all voiced support for the bill that made these cuts at a time of historic need for assistance (Greenstein, 2014; Obama, 2014; Stabenow, 2014). How then can anyone claim that there was a “disconnect?” Patterson reminds us that journalists “make the unseen visible” (Patterson, 2013, p. 9). What was unseen in the stories that focused on “Heat and Eat,” was the focus on a policy tool problem (Heat and Eat), without any connection being made to *the* problem of a historic number of Americans becoming poor enough to qualify for SNAP assistance. It is accurate that some States did use the “Heat and Eat” subsidy to increase SNAP aid to their constituents. A strategy that some called a “scam.” However, the fact that all the key political actors supported the cuts is not sufficient justification for the media to support them as well.¹⁰⁶ Journalism that merely reports what is said and done is not journalism, it is stenography. A question not asked was, “why were State employing this strategy?”

Reich and Godler emphasize the need for the journalist to be a “skeptic,” not one who simply accepts what a source says or the information presented to them (Reich & Godler, 2016, p. 5). Their depiction of the work of a journalist provides a good example of where the results of this project fit in the journalist’s toolkit:

The popular image of the work done by different professional fact finders such as journalists, detectives, intelligence agents, and archaeologists is that of putting puzzle pieces together. We would rather use a different analogy: connecting the dots. In this game, if you connect the dots properly, you end up seeing a rabbit, a face or the Eiffel Tower. If the dots represent the raw facts of a story (such as an apartment kitchen, a corpse, and a knife), the lines between the dots connect to form a story, providing us with a meaning, a framework, and a form that we can understand and convey (in this instance, let’s say, the story of a murder).

¹⁰⁶ Would the media support a law giving public figures greater ability to sue journalists for libel, just because this House of Representatives, Senate and President supported it?

Journalism of course is a much more complicated affair than connecting the dots. *First, the dots do not come with numbers* (emphasis added, ed.). Second, you can never be sure that you have been given all the dots. And third, the sources that offer you a description of the dots also make sure to simultaneously connect them, according to their own interests. In this situation, one of the important challenges that you face as a journalist is how to avoid connecting too few dots with roughly drawn lines.

Journalists tend to think about information in terms of black and white, true and false. But the most challenging and common information in the journalist's daily life is actually gray (ibid., p. 8).

What this project has attempted to do is to provide a way to “order the dots;” to provide a means by which to determine if there are numbers (connections) missing. The “dot” journalists did not connect in the “Heat and Eat” “loophole” or “scam” story was the motivation behind States’ taking advantage of the “Heat and Eat” program. Viewing the policy tool problem in isolation did not lead journalists to ask, “why are States employing this technique?” “What do they hope to gain?” When “Heat and Eat” is viewed as a policy tool problem, the motivation can be limited to people/States just “wanting to take advantage.” The policy tool problem of SNAP’s cost became the focus, not the rising demand for SNAP benefits. The logic of addressing a policy tool problem without addressing the “problem” is evident in the *New York Times* endorsement of the cuts. It also displays a striking misunderstanding of the legislative process:

On balance, the bill is clearly worthy of support, particularly because it will prevent austerity fanatics in future Congresses from gutting food stamps for the next five years. It will save \$16.6 billion over a decade, or \$23 billion if you count existing budget cuts imposed in the last two years. But endorsing the bill also means acknowledging the low expectations for real progress in Washington.

The most painful cut in the bill is the \$8 billion reduction in food stamps over a decade. The effect of this is limited to 4 percent of recipients, or 850,000 families, who would lose about \$90 a month. Most

of them live in the 16 states that have taken advantage of a loophole in a utility-assistance program, receiving benefits that Congress did not intend. That loophole should have been closed, but not in such a precipitous way for *needy families* (emphasis added, ed.) (*New York Times* Editorial Board, 2014).

The implication that accepting the cuts “prevents future Congresses from gutting food stamps for the next five years” is factually incorrect for two reasons. First, there is nothing in law or procedure that prevents Congress from making changes to SNAP at any time. It is true that under the normal process, SNAP will not come up for a vote until 2018/2019. It is also true that House of Representatives 2017 budget calls for \$150 billion dollars in cuts to SNAP over the next ten years (Rosenbaum & Keith-Jennings, 2016). Second, Congress cannot gut “food stamps.” The *food stamp* program ceased to exist June 18, 2008, with the passage of The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008. They can however, gut the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, SNAP.

The *New York Times*’ acknowledgment that the people affected by the cuts were “needy people,” shows some recognition of a condition (this project calls it a “problem”) existing independent of the supposed “loophole.” Unfortunately, neither the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or *USA Today* chose to make a connection between the two. The fact that the connection was not being made is evidenced in a *Washington Post* article that details how some States responded to the way in which Congress cut the “Heat and Eat” program (Singer, 2014). The article details how several States have increased the amount of “Heat and Eat” aid they provide to meet the new requirements imposed by Congress to preserve SNAP benefits for their residents. Table 30 shows the financial incentive for making such a decision.

Table 30. Examples of Funds Obtained by Increasing “Heat and Eat” Aid

State	Cost to Increase “Heat and Eat” Aid (Millions)	Dollar Amount of Aid preserved for State’s Residents (Millions)	Federal Aid Obtained for every Additional Dollar in Increased “Heat and Eat” Aid (Dollars)
Connecticut	1.4	67	47.85
New York	6	457	76.16
Vermont	0.325	0	18.46

Even Tom Corbett, a conservative Republican governor of Pennsylvania was willing to pay \$8 million in additional heating assistance to ensure that approximately 400,000 SNAP recipients in his State wouldn’t see their benefits reduced (Wilson, 2014a). Why would these governors preserve this aid? A plausible possibility, but one not explored in the media stories is that hunger is a problem in these States and the governors see preserving the additional SNAP aid as a way to address that problem.

In all the articles reviewed for this project, some basic facts have gone unreported. First, SNAP benefits directly enter the economy. They cannot be put in a bank; they must be spent. Second, the hunger “problem” is a State and local problem. Governor’s feed the hungry, Congresspersons and Senators provide resources. However, if those resources are insufficient, it is Governors who will have to come up with solutions. First and foremost, SNAP is an “economic stabilizer.” It is a spigot of aid that can be turned on rapidly to assist people and the economy in times of economic downturns. Evidence of this impact can be seen in what happened with Wal-Mart. In November of 2013, the additional 5% increase in SNAP benefits that was part of the 2008 stimulus package was allowed to expire. In February 2014, Wal-Mart announced that its 4th quarter profit fell 20% in part because, “. . .cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program hit its customer base. At least 20 percent of the retail giant’s shoppers use food stamps. . . .” (Jayakumar,

2014). In May of 2014 senior Wal-Mart executives petitioned their board of directors to adjust the company's earnings results by deducting the cost of store closings *and* lost sales due to the cuts to SNAP (Morgenson, 2014). Without these adjustments, the executives would not have met their revenue goals and would see their performance bonus drastically cut. The adjustments were made, and that qualified Wal-Mart executives for greater annual bonuses.

It is the author's prediction that there will be a significant amount of discussion in the coming years concerning making SNAP a block grant program. As such, funds will no longer be available to provide aid to all those who qualify for SNAP benefits. Instead, the amount of aid available will be limited to the amount of the grant, and if the need is greater than the funds available, some people eligible for assistance will receive nothing. One of the responses to the Great Depression was the first food stamp program (Ripley, 1969). During the economic meltdown of 2008-2010, SNAP was in place. Whether or not SNAP is available during the next economic crisis may depend, in part, on whether the media expand their focus beyond policy tool problems and force us to make the connections between the problem and the policy tool intended to address it. Just because the Congress and the President support a policy, does not necessarily mean that journalists can move on to the next story.¹⁰⁷ If the "problem" is not connected to the "policy tool" and "policy tool problem," it is up to journalists to make the connection. As Patterson reminds us, it is the role of the journalist to do for citizens "what they do not have the time, inclination or training to do for themselves" (Patterson, 2013, p. 142).

¹⁰⁷ Such a situation is an agreement between political actors, such agreement may or may not be a "good" thing, fully addressing the problem. It may, in fact create a problem.

6.2 Words Matter

Words matter (Edelman, 1977; Luntz, 2007; Schaffner & Sellers, 2010; Smith, 2007). They matter because frames matter (Kahneman, 2011) and frames are mostly words.¹⁰⁸ In the case of anti-hunger and the media, there are two words or phrases, “hunger” and “food security” that are significant for the difficulties they raise.

6.2.1 Hunger

In 2006, the U.S. Department of Agriculture dropped the word “hunger” from its reports and replaced it with the phrase “very low food security.” This project has led the author to the conclusion that we should take a moment and formally acknowledge that “very low food security” may be acceptable for use in government reports, but hunger is the term that is acceptable for use by journalists. Colling (2007, p. 24) talking about hunger, makes a pertinent point by first presenting an excerpt from Edelman:

If political language both excites and mollifies fears, language is an integral facet of the political scene: not simply an instrument for describing events but itself a part of events, shaping their meaning and helping to shape the political roles officials and the general public play. In this sense, language, events, and self-conceptions are a part of the same transaction, mutually determining one another’s meanings (Edelman, 1977, p. 4).

She then observes that “If the state of hunger is rooted in politics, and as Edelman asserts political language shapes political reality, we must begin with a realistic discussion of the crisis before we will make progress in realistic solutions” (ibid.). A major focus of this project has been on the necessity to link the SNAP/food stamps policy

¹⁰⁸ Photojournalist might take exception to this observation, but this project is grounded in words not images.

tool with the problem it was intended to address. If the purpose of language is to convey understanding, then hunger and not “very low food security” is the correct word to use in describing the problem. In describing the elimination of the word “hunger” from the US.

Department of Agriculture reports, the *New York Times* observed:

The government insists that no Orwellian plot is in the works to mask a national blight. The goal has been to cut what we’ll call the hungry households to no more than 6 percent of the population. But hungry people persist at nearly twice that rate, despite the slight drop last year. To the extent that more public empathy is needed to prod a stronger attack on low food security, we opt for “hunger” as a more stirring word (*New York Times* Editorial Board, 2006),

For example, the reader only has to ask if it would make a difference in what message is conveyed if the names of the following organizations were changed to conform to a scientifically quantifiable measure of, “a lack of food at some point.”

Current Name

Revised Name

No Child Hungry

No Child Very Low Food Security

Childhood Hunger
Ends Here

Childhood Very Low Food Security Ends Here

Hunger Free America

Very Low Food Security Free America

How much money would you donate to ensure that no child went to bed with very low food security? Possibly not as much as you would to ensure that no child went to bed hungry. The reality is that hunger is the word that will best chance to create the political will to deal with the problem.

6.2.2. Food Stamps vs SNAP

Journalists must acknowledge that the food stamp program no longer exists and that their continued use of the term is intended by some, at least to have a negative effect. Newt Gingrich and Rick Santorum called President Obama, the “food stamp” President (Maddow, December 28, 2016). They did not call him the “Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program” President because the words food stamps carry a negative connotation. Journalists should recognize that by continuing to use the term they are linking a policy tool description with negative connotations to a problem and this could have an effect on the policy that is developed. According to a LexisNexis Academic search, between June 1, 2006, and January 1, 2017, there were 260 articles published by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today* containing the term “supplemental nutrition assistance program.” Of these, 245 articles contained both “supplemental nutrition assistance program” and “food stamps.” In the entire 10 and one-half year period, only 15 stories used the proper name of the program without referencing food stamps. Yes, it may be accurate to say, “the supplemental nutrition assistance program, formerly called food stamps,” but is it responsible?

Does any of this matter? Ask yourself how you feel about “climate change.” Do you think something should be done about it? Would you pay higher taxes or more for gasoline if it helped resolve the problem? However you respond, you just spent time considering an artificial concept. “Climate change” is a phrase that was coined after seven years of research by Frank Luntz. It was designed to be used by Republicans precisely because:

climate change is less frightening than ‘global warming.’ As one focus group participant noted, climate change ‘sounds like you are going from Pittsburgh to Fort Lauderdale.’ While global warming has catastrophic connotations attached to it, climate change suggests a more controllable and less emotional challenge (Luntz, 2002, p. 142).

“Climate change” has no more authority than “food stamps.” One term is a fiction, made up by a public relations specialist; the other is a term that was intentionally eliminated by an act of Congress. Do journalists refer to “gay” people as formerly, (pick a derogatory term)? Do journalists refer to “special needs” students as formerly, (pick a derogatory term)? They do not. Our culture and our language have evolved, matured. It is not asking journalists to be partisan, active participants in the policy process to expect them to refrain from using the term food stamps. It is asking them to do so in the interest of accuracy and as an acknowledgement of those who authorize and oversee the program have passed legislation (the 2008 act) specifically states that food stamps no longer exist.

6.3. The Ecology of Policy Matters

The final conclusion reached is that the media-policy relationship is not just about the media. Other factors also contribute to the formulation and implementation of policy. “The framing of a policy issue” always takes place within what Rein and Schoen describe as a “nested context” (1993, p. 154). Policy issues tend to arise in environments that are always part of some broader political and economic setting, which in turn is located in a particular period of history or time. (Fischer, 2003, p. 146). Tables 31 through 34, show the environments in which the four different bills were formulated and passed. The tables take into account the political party in control of the House of Representatives, Senate

and the White House, and whether or not there was a recession at any point in the period under study.

Table 31. Congressional and Economic Environment Surrounding the Food Stamp Act Of 1977 – Benefits Increased

	94th Congress		95 th Congress		96th Congress	
	1/3/75 -1/3/76	1/3/76-1/3/77	1/3/77-1/3/78	1/3/78-1/3/79	1/3/79-1/3/80	1/3/80-1/3/81
Bill Timeline	9/29/75		9/29/77		9/29/79	
H	Democrat		Democrat		Democrat	
S	Democrat		Democrat		Democrat	
P	Democrat		Democrat		Democrat	
					Recession	

Note: H = House of Representatives; S = Senate; P = President

Table 32. Congressional and Economic Environment Surrounding the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 – Benefits Increased

	109th Congress		110 th Congress		111th Congress	
	1/3/05 -1/3/06	1/3/06-1/3/07	1/3/07-1/3/08	1/3/08-1/3/09	1/3/09-1/3/10	1/3/9/10-1/3/11
Bill Timeline	6/18/06		6/18/08		6/18/10	
H	Republican		Democrat		Democrat	
S	Democrat		Democrat		Democrat	
P	Republican		Republican		Democrat	
				Recession		

Note: H = House of Representatives; S = Senate; P = President

There are two common factors in these tables. The first may not be surprising. The Democrats controlled the House of Representatives when benefits were increased, and the Republicans controlled the House of Representatives when benefits were decreased. The second may be surprising. The President who signed both bills decreasing benefits (1996, 2014) was a Democrat. The first common factor may be easily explained by the fact that Republicans have a history of not supporting SNAP/food stamps. The second factor is not easily explained. It could be that Republicans are better negotiators or that the two Democratic Presidents, Clinton and Obama, did not feel the same level of support for SNAP/food stamps that it is assumed most Democrats feel. This study does not provide an answer.

Table 33. Congressional and Economic Environment Surrounding the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act Of 1996 -Benefits Decreased

	103rd Congress		104 th Congress		105th Congress	
	1/5/93 -1/5/94	1/6/94-1/5/95	1/6/95-1/5/96	1/6/96-1/5/97	1/5/97-1/5/98	1/5/98-1/5/99
Bill Timeline	8/22/94	8/22/96		8/22/98		
H	Democrat		Republican		Republican	
S	Democrat		Republican		Republican	
P	Democrat		Democrat		Democrat	
No recession						

Note: H = House of Representatives; S = Senate; P = President

Table 34. Congressional and Economic Environment Surrounding the Agriculture Act of 2014 – Benefits Decreased

	112th Congress			113 th Congress			114th Congress		
	1/3/11 -1/3/12		1/3/12-1/3/13	1/3/13-1/3/14		1/3/14-1/3/15	1/3/15-1/3/16		1/3/16-1/3/17
Bill Timeline		2/7/12		2/7/14		2/7/16			
H	Republican			Republican			Republican		
S	Democrat			Democrat			Republican		
P	Democrat			Democrat			Democrat		
No recession									

Note: H = House of Representatives; S = Senate; P = President

In sum, the process of informing the public is one of a conversation, dialogue or discussion. It is hoped that the definitions provided in this project facilitate our understanding of these communications between journalists and the public. Can we more precisely define “compassion fatigue” (Moeller, 1999) as a function of too many problem frame stories without policy tool frames to address the problem? Is it a function of too many problem frame stories with a specific meta-tone? I do not know, but the definitions provided in this project will allow someone to ask these questions and their conclusions could be compared and added to any other study using the same definitions.

6.4 The Journalists as a Bridge

Froehlich, Oppenheimer, and Kurki have demonstrated that individuals can be “other-regarding;” that they “. . . can – nay – do adopt a moral point of view as a function of the cues in their environment when those cues are credible” (2004, p. 111). This is an essential element in the development of a policy tool such as SNAP/food stamps. At its base, the majority of the population is consenting to regard and pay to meet the needs of others. But, the determination to be “other regarding” is based in part on cues or information. In the policy process, this information is provided by multiple sources, most notably the proponents and opponents of a policy tool. The one party, the one agent who has the resources and training to assist the public in receiving and interpreting these cues is the journalist. Journalists are not just at the center of an information flow between the public and the government; they are a bridge between the world of facts and the public. As such, journalists are a resource essential to assisting the public in determining whether or not to be “other-regarding.” This bridging function is consistent with the notion of interpretative reporting, which a special Nieman Fellows report on “Reporting Background” described as “news that provides background as ‘real objectivity’ that gives a true picture, distinct from ‘false objectivity’” (1950, pp. 29-32 cited in Maras, 2013, p. 130). Arguing that journalists should maintain the connection between the problem and the policy tool does not demand that they become advocates. It simply requires them to present news that presents the information to allow the public to “understand” the news (ibid.). For our purposes, maintaining the connection between problem and policy tool is one means by which journalists inform the public. In today’s world where lies masquerade as “alternative facts,” this function is more critical than ever.

6.5 The Next Steps – More Data and Refining the Two-Tier Method

Answering such a question will be important in clarifying how the media is performing the bridging function, but just using the definitions provided in this project will not provide the answer. First, as noted in section 4.2.1, the nonprobability sampling was employed in this project. Consequently, the results are not generalizable to a general population. To overcome this limitation future studies should employ a probability sampling of not just newspaper articles but blogs, television and perhaps radio stories. Second, this project has not examined loss and gain frames and their connection to policy. Fortunately, Boydstun and Glazier have proposed a “Two-Tiered Method” for analyzing issue frames and frames that generalize across issues (such as loss and gain) (2013). Where this study compliments their approach, is in the specification of precise definitions for what they call “issue frames.” For example, Boydstun and Glazier identify 12 “issues:” September 11, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, human rights and criminal abuses, democratization and freedom, civil unrest, soldiers, civilians, reconstruction, government, economic cost, and prisoners/detainees (ibid., , p. 714). On the “September 11” issue, they reach the following conclusion:

Thus, as we consider the consequences of framing public policy in these ways, it may not be a stretch to say that the loss-based coverage following the September 11 attacks made the public more willing to accept what might otherwise be seen as risky foreign policy ventures in Afghanistan and Iraq (ibid., p. 724).

Without having access to their coding book, it is not possible to say for certain, but their article indicates that what they identify under the title, “September 11” actually falls within this study’s definition of a “problem.” If this is the case, then their conclusion could be re-written to say that,

It may not be a stretch to say that the loss-based coverage following the *problem* of the September 11 attacks made the public more willing to accept what might otherwise be seen as risky foreign *policy tool* implementations – military action in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The advantage to the second version is that any other study using the definitions provided in this project could be compared with the September 11 problem and the type of coverage. Boydston and Glazier note that:

The use of this two-tiered coding scheme across policy issues will also allow scholars to determine if the trends we identify in the war on terror—whereby media framing shifted from loss toward gain framing and from self-referential toward other-referential framing—are unique to the war or are more generalizable to other crisis issues (ibid.).

Employing the definitions in this study as the categories by which frames grouped or identified will allow scholars to determine if a shift from loss toward gain framing and from self-referential toward other-framing are generalizable to problems, policy, policy goals, policy tools or policy ends, which is more informative than just being “generalizable to other crisis issues.”

6.6 Concluding Remarks

To conclude, it may be helpful to summarize what has been learned through this project:

1. To engage in media-policy research that is useful to both fields and can result in a cumulative body of literature, one must have precise definitions of the units of study. This project has provided five categories of frames or units of analysis: problem, policy, policy tool, policy goal, and policy end.
2. Frames within each category can be grouped according to topics.
3. Frames have a tone, and the tones can be grouped into meta-tones.

4. Journalistic norms encourage journalists to focus on problems. But these norms do not naturally consider that there are multiple “problems” in the policy discussion space. In particular, these norms do not require the journalist to maintain the linkage between a problem with a policy tool and the problem the policy tool was intended to remedy. Stories highlighting the increasing cost of SNAP/food stamps or characterizing it as being “the fastest growing entitlement program,” (Saslow, 2013a) are accurate. However, there is nothing that compels the journalist also to consider the actual problem of hunger that SNAP/food stamps is intended to remedy. In one article of a Pulitzer Prize-winning series, the policy tool “food stamps,” is mentioned twenty-two times and “hunger” is mentioned only twice (ibid.). This focus on the policy tool is consistent with the evidence gathered in this study, which shows there was an overwhelming focus on the policy tool, while coverage of the actual problem of hunger itself is neglected. It is hoped that the categories defined here and the discussion of their interrelationship will assist journalists in considering the problem policy tools are intended to remedy, in addition to the policy tools themselves.
5. The continued use of the words Food Stamps to describe the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) by journalists is inaccurate and has the potential to distract the public from the problem of hunger.
6. Anti-hunger groups have had a voice in the media. While not studied in this project, anti-hunger groups should consider whether or not their interactions with the media and the material they supply to the media, assist the journalist

in making the connection between the problem and the policy tool. The way anti-hunger groups provide information could potentially increase the likelihood that journalists will make the proper connections. In particular, by directly reminding journalists that their duty to the public interest lies in discussing the actual problem – rather than just problems with the policy tool.

Finally, if journalists do for citizens that which they cannot do for themselves because they lack the time or training (Patterson, 2013, p.142), then scholars should do for journalists what they cannot do for themselves for the same reasons. That has been the intent of this project, however well or poorly executed. I hope it is of some value.

Appendix A. Federal Nutrition Aid Legislative Proposals between June 2012 and August 2013.

In July of 2012, the Republican-controlled House Committee on Agriculture endorsed H.R.6803 which reduced funding for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) (formerly the Food Stamp Program) ¹⁰⁹ by \$16 billion over ten years and most importantly capped the SNAP funding by converting it from an entitlement¹¹⁰ program to fixed block grants given to states. On August 12, 2012, the Democrat-controlled Senate passed a bill (S.3240) that would retain the entitlement status of SNAP but proposed \$4 billion of cuts over the next ten years. H.R.6803 was never brought to the full House for a vote and unable to resolve their differences the House and the Senate agreed to extend the current Farm Bill through the end of fiscal year 2013, P.L. 112-240. In the nine months since the H.R.6803 was endorsed by the committee, the number of participants in the SNAP had grown by almost one million people to 47.635¹¹¹ million participants. On June 12, 2013, The House Committee on Agriculture endorsed a new bill to replace H.R.6803. That bill, H.R.1497 *increased* the cuts to SNAP to a total of \$20 billion over ten years. Despite cutting SNAP more than previous legislation, H.R.

¹⁰⁹ October 1, 2008, the name of the Food Stamp program was officially changed to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP).

¹¹⁰ "Entitlement Program - A federal program under which individuals, businesses, or units of government that meet the requirements or qualifications established by law are entitled to receive certain payments if they seek such payments. . . . Congress cannot control their expenditures by refusing to appropriate the sums necessary to fund them because the government is legally obligated to pay eligible recipients the amounts to which the law entitles them. . . . Under many entitlement programs (such as SNAP, ed.), spending automatically increases or decreases over time as the number of recipients eligible for benefits varies."
http://democrats.rules.house.gov/archives/glossary_fbp.htm

¹¹¹ The latest data available is for May 2013. <http://www.fns.usda.gov/pd/34SNAPmonthly.htm> retrieved 8/28/13.

1497 failed to pass the House of Representatives on June 20, 2013. Finally, on July 11, 2013, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 2642, which did not include any funding for SNAP. On July 18, 2013, the Senate passed S.954, which contains the same \$4 billion dollar cuts to SNAP that were proposed in its predecessor S.3240. A conference committee reconciled the differences between H.R.2642 and S.954, and the result is the Agriculture Act of 2014, P.L. 113-79, which cuts¹¹² an estimated 8.3 billion dollars from the SNAP program by increasing the minimum amount of money States must provide in heating assistance before making some persons eligible for SNAP assistance. The rationale behind the cuts is that the states will not increase the funding up to the new minimum level, \$20 per month, and therefore people currently receiving SNAP benefits because they are receiving aid from the state that is below the \$20 minimum will no longer receive SNAP aid. However, since the passage of the Agriculture Act of 2014, fifteen states have raised the minimum amount of aid they provide to allow participants to continue to receive SNAP aid. This will have the net effect of reducing the amount of the “cuts” enacted in the Agriculture Act of 2014.¹¹³

¹¹² These cuts were based on the level of funding States would provide to recipients of heating assistance. The Agriculture Act of 2014 established a minimum level of assistance the States must provide in order to continue providing SNAP benefits to those recipients. The “cuts” assume that States would not increase heating assistance support to the new higher level and therefore those previously receiving SNAP benefits because of they also received heating assistance would no longer receive SNAP benefits. However, several States, including Pennsylvania, which has a Republican Governor and both chambers of the State government controlled by Republicans, have increased the amount of the heating assistance benefit they provide so that people who previously received SNAP benefits will continue to receive them, thereby negating the “cuts.”

¹¹³This is not the only portion of the Agriculture Act of 2014 that may not result in a cost or savings anticipated in the bill. A trade off was made in eliminating direct subsidies to producers and replacing them with enhance risk insurance. The cost of the insurance program is based on estimates of the type and the severity of disasters or conditions that will occur in the five-year cycle of the farm bill, FY 2014 through FY 2018. If there are more disasters or disasters of a greater severity than estimated, the cost of the insurance program will increase, reducing the projected savings.

Appendix B. Heat and Eat Explanation

'Heat and Eat' is a term used to describe a streamlining practice that 15 states (California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin) and the District of Columbia use to determine Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefit levels for eligible households. In calculating a household's monthly SNAP benefits, certain deductions from income are allowed, including the "excess shelter deduction," of which utility costs are a factor. A household may receive a higher SNAP benefit if the family qualifies for more deductions. States may use a "standard utility allowance" (SUA), an average of the state's utility costs, instead of collecting an applicant's utility bill. The receipt of any amount of the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program LIHEAP benefits could qualify a household for the SUA, increasing the likelihood that they would qualify for the "excess shelter deduction," and therefore a higher SNAP benefit." (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2015).

"Prior to the Agriculture Act of 2014 States only had to give \$1.00 in Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program LIHEAP benefits for a household to qualify for the "standard utility allowance.) In the 2014 Farm Bill (the Agriculture Act of 2014), Congress chose to narrow the scope for states to operate "Heat and Eat" programs that help Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) recipients meet their food and utility bills. Congress didn't act to end the coordination of the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) and SNAP through Heat and Eat. Rather, it acted to change the rules and require states to invest more energy assistance benefits to trigger the

SNAP option. The Senate bill put the minimum state investment at \$10 per household (the Congressional Budget Office estimated this would save \$4 billion). The House bill – and the final law – set the threshold at \$20, taking \$8.55 billion from low-income households according to CBO. In neither case did CBO enumerate how many states it expected to drop the option and how many would adjust their payments and keep the option. But Congress chose to narrow, not to eliminate the option.” (Food Research Action Center, 2014)

By late March 2014, eight states Montana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont had increased their LIHEAP assistance to the \$20 minimum required by the Agriculture Act of 2014. This effectively reduced the potential \$8.55 billion in “savings” or “cuts.” (Wilson, 2014b).

Appendix C. “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects” Citations 03/22/2016

Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment

RD Benford, DA Snow - Annual review of sociology, 2000 - JSTOR

Cited by 5214 Related articles All 25 Versions Cite Save

Theories of human communication

SW Littlejohn, KA Foss - 2010 - books.google.com

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RM Entman - 2004 - books.google.com

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Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models

DA Scheufele, D Tewksbury - Journal of communication, 2007 - Wiley Online Library

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Framing theory

D Chong, JN Druckman - Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci., 2007 - annualreviews.org

Cited by 1293 Related articles All 5 versions Cite Save

Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication

DA Scheufele - Mass Communication & Society, 2000 - Taylor & Francis

Cited by 867 Related articles All 10 versions Cite Save

Prologue--Framing public life

SD Reese - S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A., Grant (Eds.), Framing public ..., 2001

Cited by 813 Related articles All 5 versions Cite Save More

The implications of framing effects for citizen competence

JN Druckman - Political Behavior, 2001 - Springer

Cited by 761 Related articles All 18 versions Cite Save

Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy

B Zelizer - 2004 - books.google.com

Cited by 655 Related articles All 5 versions Cite Save More

Seven models of framing: Implications for public relations

K Hallahan - Journal of public relations research, 1999 - Taylor & Francis

Cited by 589 Related articles All 7 versions Cite Save

Source: <http://scholar.google.com/scholar?> Cites 3/22/2016 Scheufele: Framing as a theory of media effects - Google Scholar

Appendix D. “Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm” Citations, 03/22/2016

The agenda-setting function of mass media ME McCombs, DL Shaw - Public opinion quarterly, 1972 – AAPOR Cited by 7378 Related articles All 20 versions Cite Save

Framing as a theory of media effects DA Scheufele - Journal of communication, 1999 - Wiley Online Library Cited by 2655 Related articles All 10 versions Cite Save

Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research D Riff, S Lacy, F Fico - 2014 - books.google.com Cited by 2308 Related articles All 3 versions Cite Save More

Reframing public policy: discursive politics and deliberative practices: discursive politics and deliberative practices F Fischer - 2003 - books.google.com Cited by 2280 Related articles All 3 versions Cite Save More

Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion M McCombs - 2013 - Books.google.com Cited by 1691 Related articles All 3 versions Cite Save More

Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models DA Scheufele, D Tewksbury - Journal of communication, 2007 - Wiley Online Library Cited by 1356 Related articles All 22 versions Cite Save

Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news HA Semetko, PM Valkenburg - Journal of communication, 2000 - Wiley Online Library Cited by 1307 Related articles All 6 versions Cite Save

Framing theory Chong, JN Druckman - Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci., 2007 - annualreviews.org Cited by 1293 Related articles All 5 versions Cite Save

Heat wave: A social autopsy of disaster in Chicago Klinenberg - 2015 - books.google.com Cited by 1239 Related articles All 5 versions Cite Save More

Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance TE Nelson, RA Clawson... - American Political Science ..., 1997 - Cambridge Univ Press Cited by 1185 Related articles All 12 versions Cite Save

Source:http://scholar.google.com/scholar?cites=1259543378407604778&as_sdt=5,39&sciodt=0,3...3/22/2016 Entman: Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm

Appendix E. Representative Definitions of Frames and Framing

There is no single definition of frames and framing in media studies nor are the terms limited to just media studies. Below are representative definitions found in other fields, as well as, alternative definitions from media studies.

Field of Study	Definition
From the public policy perspective framing, can be defined as a political activity	
	Framing refers to the way in which political elites, such as the news media, politicians, interest groups and other political players, define the political space and erect the boundaries within which a public policy issue will be considered. (Callaghan & Schnell, 2005b, p. xi).
	“the process by which a source defines the essential problem underlying a particular social or political issue and outlines a set of considerations purportedly relevant to that issue” (p. 222). In other words, “framing is the process by which a communication source . . . defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy” (Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997, p. 567)
	To frame is to define a policy’s image (how an issue is portrayed and categorized). (Cairney, 2012, p. 175)
	Frames are variously described as “mental boxes” and “interpretative storylines” (Nisbet 2009, 22).
	Frames suggest how politics should be thought about, thereby encouraging citizens to understand events and issues in particular ways. By defining what the essential issue is and suggesting how to think about it, frames imply what, if anything, should be done. Elites spend as much time and money as they do crafting and disseminating frames on the assumption that frames make a difference—that good frames will attract and hold an audience’s attention. Is this assumption correct? So it seems. (Kinder, 2007, p. 156)
In the area of collective action or social movements	
	Social movement scholars conceptualize this signifying work or meaning construction by

Field of Study	Definition
	employing the verb “framing” (Gamson et al 1982, Snow et al 1986, Snow & Benford 1988). This denotes an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction. It is active in the sense that something is being done, and processual in the sense of a dynamic, evolving process. It entails agency in the sense that what is evolving is the work of social movement organizations or government activists. And it is contentious in the sense that it involves the generation of interpretive frames that not only differ from existing ones but that may also challenge them. The resultant products of this framing activity are referred to as “collective action frames” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614).
	“An interpretive schemata that signifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment.” (Snow & Benford, 1992, p. 137)
Sociology	
	I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame. (Goffman, 1974, pp. 10–11, cited in Druckman 2001, p. 227).
	Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6, cited in Druckman, 2001, p. 227).
	Our general human cognitive capacities appear to include the ability (and the need) to set up frames , or structured understandings of the way aspects of the world function (Goffman, 1974, Fillmore, 1985) (Sweetser and Fauconnier, 1996, p. 5; emphasis in original, cited in Drukman 2001, p. 227).
	Gamson and Modigliani, for example, state that: "A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and <i>suggesting what is at issue</i> " (1989, p. 57, emphasis added)
From psychology and economics, the most frequent use of frames comes from Kahneman & Tversky as cited in Kahneman:	
	Frames are “descriptions of reality rather than reality itself.” Different frames, even if they describe logically equivalent

Field of Study	Definition
	statements “mean” different things and “evoke different reactions” (Kahneman, 2011, p. 370, 363).
	We use the term “decision frame” to refer to the decision-maker’s conception of the acts, outcomes, and contingencies associated with a particular choice. (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981, p. 453).
From the media perspective, there several definitions of frames and framing	
	A frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. . . The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue;” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143)
	Frames are “ <i>organizing principals</i> that are socially <i>shared</i> and <i>persistent</i> over time, that work <i>symbolically</i> to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2010, p. 17). For a detailed discussion of the terms in italics see (Reese, 2001, pp. 10-20).
	Framing is “Selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman, 2004, p. 5).
	Framing is selecting “ <i>some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation</i> for the item described” (Entman 1993, p. 52, italics in original).
	Framing is “Selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman, 2004, p. 5).
	Framing is “reporting the news from a particular perspective so that some aspects of the situation come into focus and others fade into the background” (Graber, 2010, pp. 140-141).
	McCombs (1997, p. 37) has suggested that in the language of the second level of agenda setting, “framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed.” He argues that there are many other agendas of attributes besides aspects of issues and traits of political candidates, and a good theoretical map is needed to

Field of Study	Definition
	bring some order to the vastly different kinds of frames discussed in various studies (Weaver, 2007, p. 143)
	It is not clear why framing has become so much more popular with communication scholars than either agenda setting or priming in the past 10 years, but it may have something to do with the ambiguity or the comprehensive nature of the term. "Frame" can be applied to many different aspects of messages and to many different types of messages. It can also be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretive textual analysis alone, although many of the articles in this issue of Journal of Communication attempt to analyze the relationships between media frames and audience frames, a more theoretically fruitful approach to studying framing. (Weaver, 2007, p. 144)
Commentary concerning the concept of frames	
	Issue-specific frames pertain to specific topics or news events, whereas generic frames are broadly applicable to a range of different news topics, some even over time and, potentially, in different cultural contexts. An issue-specific approach to the study of news frames allows for investigation of the framing of particular events in great specificity and detail. It may capture specific aspects of selection, organization, and elaboration that are present in news coverage and pertain specifically to a well-defined issue. However, the high degree of detail and issue-sensitivity renders issue specific analyses difficult to generalize, compare, and use as a base for general hypothesis and theory building. In contrast, generic frames offer less possibility for examining the framing of an event in fine detail, but they allow comparisons between frames, topics, and, potentially, framing practices in different countries. (De Vreese et al., 2001, p. 108)
	Some researchers opt for a rather qualitative approach, such as discourse analysis (e.g., Pan & Kosicki, 1993), whereas others apply traditional content analysis (e.g., Tankard, 2001) or other quantitative methods (e.g., Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) to try to get a grip on these frames. But are frame analysis and traditional content analysis actually compatible with one another? After all, a frame also finds expression in latent meaning structures that are not perceived directly. How could one possibly measure these structures and, at the same time, fulfill the criteria of reliability, reproducibility, and validity? This can be achieved by accepting a heuristic principle, namely that a series of manifest variables can represent a latent concept (Neuendorf, 2002). The respective framing devices, transmuted in measurable variables, all refer to the frame as a latent meaning structure. More concretely, the causal statements

Field of Study	Definition
	<p>(the reasoning devices) and the properties that together constitute the discursive domain of the media text (the framing devices) are identified. The reasoning devices can be found in the text, but they may also be implicit statements, when a previous fact and a consequence are placed side by side without the causal relationship between the two being specified. (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 71)</p>
	<p>Frames seem to become perceptible in all shapes and sizes. Research approaches that analyze message content in order to ascertain how the media represent a certain topic are regularly referred to as frame analyses, although sometimes they distinguish no frame at all. Further, in prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) the frames are usually conceived as rather subtle changes in phrasing. However, by just changing some words—for example, “The less you smoke, the easier it will be to quit” becomes “The more you smoke, the harder it will be to quit” in a health campaign (Wong & McMurray, 2002)—one can wonder whether or not the frame has changed too. Furthermore, in recent framing research the attention shifts to very specific issue frames that are only applicable to certain topics, or to broadly defined generic frames, that seem to be ubiquitous (cf. De Vreese, Peter, & Semetko, 2001). In order to avoid confusion, some authors (e.g., Entman, 2004) argue that in some instances the term frame can be replaced with script, or with labels such as representation, argument, or genre. (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 61)</p>
	<p>Unfortunately, the great majority of framing studies rely heavily on this sociologically oriented tradition and converge on a relatively loose definition of framing as information that conveys differing perspectives on some event or issue. This tradition can also be labeled “emphasis” framing, since the observed framing effects represent differences in opinion that cannot be attributed exclusively to differences in presentation. Emphasis-based frames not only vary the perspective or underlying dimension for considering an event (e.g., freedom of speech in the case of some particular dissenting group), but they also differ in several other respects. Thus, the widespread adoption of the emphasis over the equivalence mode of framing makes it much more difficult to observe framing effects per se. Frames have morphed into messages, and the prevalence of emphasis framing in our field threatens to make the broader framing concept redundant as a theory of media effects. And the problem is not trivial, as it indicates an unintentional regression toward old media effects paradigms under the guise of conceptual refinement. (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2010, p. 3).</p>

For detailed discussions of framing see also:

Doing News Framing Analysis (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010)

Framing American Politics (Callaghan & Schnell, 2005a)

Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World
(Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2003)

Perspectives on Framing (Keren, 2011)

*Public Policy and Mass Media: The Interplay of Mass Communication and Political
Decision Making* (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2010)

Appendix F. Policy Elements and Their Definitions

The tables in this Appendix, Tables 5 through 26, contain the specific definitions of policy elements from the literature that were used to construct this project’s definitions of the elements of public policy: Public Problem (PPr), Public Policy (PP), Public Policy Tool (PPT), Public Policy Goal (PPG), and Public Policy End (PPE). Each table below gives the citations for one of the twenty-two major policy elements identified in Table 4 of the text. The tables give the definitions found in the literature for each one of the policy elements. Words or concepts from these individual definitions are used explicitly or implied in this project’s definitions of the elements of public policy. The “Applicable Categories” column shows the particular policy element of this project with which the definition is linked.

Table F1. Representative Definitions of the Term “Problem”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	“Matters on which policy players either inside or outside of government would like to secure action (p. 98).	PPr
b	Baumgartner & Jones (2009)	When bad conditions are attributed to nature, government need not intervene; where the same conditions are argued to stem from human or government sources, or at least to be amendable to such solutions, then government action is much more likely. An earthquake is not a public policy problem, since it cannot be prevented or avoided by government action. Building code violations that make the damage from and earth quake more severe are public policy problems, however, since government action can solve them, at least theoretically. (p. 27).	PPr
c	Birkland (2011)	A usually undesirable situation that according to people or interest groups, can be alleviated by government action (p. 10).	PPr
d	Cairney (2012)	[Policy problem] is a policy issue to be solved (p. 183). Problems are policy issues which are deemed to require attention (p. 233).	PPr
e	Gamble & Stone (2006)	Political issues . . . defined in a way that government can do something about them with the kinds of tools it has on hand. . . they must be framed in a way that they are perceived as bad situations and moral wrongs that government can and should fix (p. 95).	PPr

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
f	Gerston (2010)	However, the challenges that sow the seeds of public policy decisions fall into a unique category. The individuals or groups who suffer these circumstances rely on government action to change their unfavorable condition into an acceptable situation (p. 22).	PPr
G	Hilgartner Bosk (1988)	Putative situations and conditions that could be conceived of as problems (p. 57). <i>A social problem</i> is a putative condition or situation that (at least some) actors label a "problem" in the <i>arenas</i> of public discourse and action, defining it as harmful and framing its definition in particular ways (p. 70).	PPr
h	Ingram, Schneider & deLone (2007)	Problems are viewed as <i>interpretations</i> of conditions that have been subjectively defined as problematic and, as such, demand some type of ameliorative action [see Bacchi (1999) for example] P.94.	PPr
i	Jones (1970)	A human need, deprivation, or dissatisfaction, self-identified or identified by others for which relief is sought (p. 17).	PPr
j	Kingdon (1995)	A condition or situation that people have “come to believe they should do something about (p 105).	PPr
k	Klein & Marmor (2006)	Problems are. . .the product of social and political perceptions (p. 893).	
l	Kraft and Furlong (2015)	Refers to the existence of an unsatisfactory set of conditions for which relief is sought, either through private means or from the government. Commonly used in discussion of societal issues that call for a governmental response in the form of public policy (p 500).	PPr
m	Mayhew (2006)	some state of affairs. . . that policymaking should entail a search for a largely agreed upon solution (p 221).	PPr
n	Rocheftor & cobb (1994)	formulating an actionable statement of issue dynamics from which expenditures can be made, personnel deployed, and procedures developed that will reduce or eliminate the undesirable state of affairs without undue harmful consequences to related activities” (Guess & Farnham, 1989, p. 7) cited in (Rocheftor & Cobb, 1994, p. 8).	PG; PPr
o	Rushefsky (2013)	No explicit Definition. The first stage of the policy process is problem identification. This stage begins with a demand for government action to resolve a problem or take advantage of an opportunity; it is an attempt to get the government to see that a problem or opportunity exists (p, 6).	PPr
p	Stone (2002)	Bad conditions attributed to human conditions instead of fate, or nature (p. 299).	PPr
q	Peters(2013)	No explicit definition. Before government can make a policy choice, a particular problem in the society must have been deemed	PPr

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
		amenable to public action and worthy of the attention of policymakers (p. 65).	
r	Wildavsky (1979)	A problem is a problem only if something can be done about it (p. 42).	PPr
s	Zahariadis (2007)	Various conditions that the policy makers and citizens want addressed (p. 70).	PPr

Table F2. Representative Definitions of The Terms “Public” Or “Policy Problem”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	A condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfaction among people and for which relief or redress is sought by governmental action is sought (p. 89).	PPr
b	Cairney (2012)	A policy issue to be solved (p. 183).	
c	Jones (1970)	A human need, deprivation or dissatisfaction, self-identified or identified by others, for which relief is sought in such a manner that persons beyond those immediately concerned perceive themselves to be affected and respond accordingly (p. 20). Problems which are widespread in effect and which result in demands by publics (though agents) for action by the government (p. 21).	PPr

Table F3. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	Purposive course of action or inaction undertaken by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter or concern (p. 7).	PPT
b	Birkland (2011)	A statement or pronouncement by the government—at whatever level-of what it intends to do about a public problem. The lack of such statements maybe evidence of an implicit policy (pgs. 9-10).	PPG; PP; PPT
c	Colebatch (1998)	Diverse activities by different bodies are drawn together into stable and predictable patterns of action which (as often as not) come to be labeled “policy” ¹¹⁴ (cited in Cairney, 2012, p. 25).	PPT
d	Dror (2006)	Grand policies that aim at massive effects on the future. Grand policies consist of various combinations of single critical choices and long term strategies. Critical choices	PPT

¹¹⁴ Cairney lists this definition in a box titled “public policy,” but Colebatch uses the term “policy” so the definition is listed under “policy” and not “public policy.”

		are illustrated by dropping the nuclear bomb on Japan, approving a large infrastructures projects. . . Long-term strategies include moving from a command to a market economy, giving priority to the young in public health services. . . (p. 81).	
e	Dye (2013)	“A statement by government of what it intends to do or not to do, such as a law, regulation, ruling, decision, or order, or a combination of these. The lack of such statements may also be an implicit statement of policy (p. 203).	PPG; PP; PPT
f	Easton (1953)	A policy . . . consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate . . . values (cited in Hill, 2013, p. 14).	PPT
g	Eulau & Prewitt (1973)	A standing decision characterized by the behavioral consistency and repetitiveness on the part of both those who make it and those who abide by it (cited in Kraft & Furlong, 2015, p. 4).	PPT
h	Eyestone (1971)	The relationship of governmental unity to its environment (cited in Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 3).	
i	Fischer (2003)	A political agreement on a course of action or (inaction) designed to resolve or mitigate problems on the political agenda (p. 60).	PPT
j	Heclo (1972)	A policy may usefully be considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific actions or decisions (cited in Hill, 2013, p. 14).	PPT
k	Hill (2013)	A course of action, especially one based on some declared or respected principle (p. 14).	PPT
l	Jenkins (1978)	A set of interrelated decisions . . . concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation (cited in Hill, 2013, p. 14).	PPT
m	Jones (1970)	A course of action designed to affect a problem that has been legitimated (p. 89).	PPT
n	Lindbloom, woodhouse (1993)	Term needs to be applied to actual practice, not merely to formally announced intentions (p. 60).	PPT
o	Lowi (2014)	An officially expressed intention backed by a sanction, which can be reward or a punishment.” As a course of action (or inaction) a public policy can take the form of a law, rule a statement, an edict, a regulation or an order (cited in Fischer, 2003, p. 12).	PP; PPT
p	Goodin, Rein & Moran (2006)	Ruling is an assertion of the will, an attempt to exercise control, to shape the world. Public Policies are instruments of this assertive ambition. . . (p. 3).	PPT
q	Howlett & Ramesh (2003)	Decisions by governments to retain the status quo are just as much policy as are decisions to alter it ¹¹⁵ (cited in Cairney, 2012, p. 12).	PPT
r	Oxford English Dictionary (2006)	A principle or course of action adopted or proposed as desirable, advantageous, or expedient; <i>esp.</i> one formally advocated by a government, political party, etc. Also as a mass noun: method of acting on matters of principle, settled practice (policy n1).	PPT
s	Page (2006)	Intentions or actions or more likely a mixture of the two (p. 210).	PP; PPT

¹¹⁵ Cairney lists this definition in a box titled “public policy,” but Howlett and Ramesh use the term “policy” so the definition is listed under “policy” and not “public policy.”

t	Richards & Smith (2002)	'Policy' is a general term used to describe a formal decision or plan of action adopted by an actor. . . to achieve a particular goal. . . (cited in Cairney, 2012, p. 25) .	PPT
u	Salamon (2002)	collections of programs operating in a similar field or aimed at some general objective (p. 20).	PPT
v	Shafritz (2004)	A standing decision by an authoritative source, such as a government, a corporation, or the head of a family. For example, citizens, must pay sales tax on purchases, employees will earn one days' vacation for Each month worked, and dinner will be served at 6:00 P.M. More generally, polices can also be goods yet achieved. For example, greater prosperity for all, higher corporate profits, and college education for each child (p. 221).	PG; PPT
w	Smith (1976)	The concept of policy denotes . . . deliberate choice of action or inaction, rather than the effects of interrelating forces. Attention should not focus exclusively on decisions which produce change, but must also be sensitive to those which resist change and difficult to observe because they are not represented in the policy-making process by legislative enactment (cited in Hill, 2013, p. 14).	PPE; PPT
x	Peters(2013)	The sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or through agents, as those activities have an influence on the lives of citizens (p. 4). (includes choices, outputs, impacts)	PPE; PPT
y	Wilson (2006)	It may indicate and overall objective ...or a guiding principle. . .or a specific action that will be taken to help reach the objective (p. 153). The actions, objectives, and pronouncement of government on particular matters, the steps they take (or fail to take) to implement them, and the explanation they give for what happens (or does not happen) (p. 154).	PPE; PG; PP

Table F4. Representative Definitions of the Term “Public Policy”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Cairney (2012)	The sum total of government action, from signals of intent to the final outcome (p. 5).	PPE; PP; PPT
b	Cairney (2012)	Policy can refer to an aim, a decision or and outcome; it may refer to issues that policymakers do not address; and, it is made and influenced by many actors who may or may not have formal authority (p. 22).	PPE; PP; PPT
c	Cochran & Mayer (1999)	The term public policy always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions (cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 8).	PP
d	Cochran E. (1999)	public policy is the outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what (cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 8).	PPE
e	Cochran & Malone (1995)	Public policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve social goals (cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 8)	PPG; PPT
f	Colebatch (1998)	Diverse activities by different bodies are drawn together into stable and predictable patterns of action which (as	PPT

		often as not) come to be labeled policy (cited in Cairney, 2012, p. 25)	
g	Garner (1999)	Broadly, principles and standards regarded by the legislature or the courts as being of fundamental concern to the state and the whole of society.	PPT
h	Gerston (2010)	Thus, public policy is defined here as the combination of basic decisions commitments, and actions made by those who hold or influence government positions of authority (p. 7).	PPT
i	Klein and Marmor (2006)	We define public policy quite simply. It is what governments do and neglect to do (p. 892).	PPT
j	Kraft & Furlong (2015)	What officials within government, and by extension the citizens they represent, choose to do or not do about public problems. This can include passing laws or approving regulations, spending money, or providing tax breaks, among other things (p. 500).	PPT
k	Peters (1999)	Stated most simply, public policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens (cited in Birkland, 2011, p. 8)	PPE; PPT
l	Peters (2013)	Is the sum of government activities, whether pursued directly or through agents, as those activities have an influence on the lives of citizens (p. 4).	PPE; PPT
m	Richards & Smith (2002)	Public policy is a more specific term applied to a formal decision or plan of action that has been taken by, or has involved a state organization (cited in Cairney, 2012, p. 25).	PPT
n	Rushefsky (2013)	Public policy is a course of action made up of a series of decisions, discrete choices (including the choice not to act), over a period of time (p. 5).	PPT
o	Schneider and Ingram (1997)	“Public policies are the mechanisms through which values are authoritatively allocated for the society” p. 2 (citing Easton 1965 (Easton, 1965))	
p	Shafritz (2004)	A policy made on behalf of the public by means of a public law or regulation that is put into effect by public administration. 2. Decision-making by the government. Governments are constantly concerned about what they should or should not do. And whatever they do or do not do is public policy. 3. The implementation of a subset of governing doctrine. The governing doctrine is necessarily an ideology, a comprehensive set of political beliefs about the nature of people and society (p. 243).	PP; PPT

Table F5. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Behavior”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Page (2006)	. . . The behavior of officials normally expected to carry out policy measures (p. 211).	PPT

Table F6. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Choice”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Peters(2013)	Decisions made by politicians, civil servants, or others granted authority that are directed toward using public power to affect the lives of citizens (p. 4).	PPE; PPT

Table F7. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Goal”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	The goals of a policy may be somewhat loosely stated and imprecise in content, thus providing a general direction rather than a precise target for its implementation (p. 7).	PPG
b	Birkland (2011)	A desired outcome of a policy; these goals can be explicitly stated or implicit in the policy and other factors found in the legislative history (p. 236).	PPG
c	Rushefsky (2013)	What is the government trying to achieve through public policy (p. 9)?	PPG
d	Schneider and Ingram (1997)	... Indicate what is to be achieved through policy (p.82). “Goals may also be mainly hortatory and symbolic rather than be the actual objective of policy (p. 84).	PPG

Table F8. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Impacts”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Dubnick and Bardes (1983)	The consequences of what governments do and say (p. 203).	PPE
b	Peters (2013)	The effects that policy choices and policy outputs have on citizens, such as making them wealthier, healthier or the air they breathe less polluted (p. 5).	PPE
c	Van Den Bosch & Cantillon (2006)	Making a difference in people’s actual living circumstances (p. 314).	PPE

Table F9. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Instrument”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Howlett (1991)	Policy instruments" is the generic term provided to encompass the myriad techniques at the disposal of governments to Implement their public policy objectives. Sometimes referred to as ‘governing instruments’ or ‘tools of government,’ these techniques range in complexity and age, although most are well known to students and practitioners of public administration (p. 2).	PPT
b	Howlett & Giest (2013)	Substantive instruments are those directly providing goods and services to members of the public or governments (p. 22). Procedural instruments are different from substantive ones in that their impact on policy outcomes is less direct. Rather than affect the delivery of goods and services, their principal interest is to modify or alter the nature of policy processes at work in the implementation process (p. 22).	PPT
c	Kraft & Furlong (2015)	The tool such as regulation or education that government uses to intervene in a given problem or issue (p. 499).	PPT

Table F10. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Issue”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Cairney (2012)	A focus of discussion, debate or conflict in politics (p.182).	
b	Gerston (2010)	Public policy issues are the “passengers” that move off and on the “wheels” of government. . . . Although policy areas can include a range of ever-changing public needs, the types of issues can be divided into two broad categories: substantive and symbolic. Substantive issues are those areas of controversy that have a major impact on society. Regulation of the economy, health-care reform. . . . Symbolic issues center on irritation public problems and “quick fixes” to getting them off the public agenda. Responses to these issue areas tend to provide more psychological relief than actual change in the political system. Outcomes are generally uncontroversial because the policy commitment does not threaten major shifts of social, economic or political capital (pp. 89).	PE

Table F11. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Lines”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Page (2006)	. . . They refer less to an overarching set of principles or even ideology and more to goals related to specific issue or problem that the policy seeks to address (p. 211).	PPG

Table F12. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Measure”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Page (2006)	. . . The specific instruments that given effect to distinct policy lines: the legal requirements to be met by the people entering the country with or without children not their own. . . . (p 211).	PPT

Table F13. Representative Definitions of the Terms “Policy Outcomes”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	. . . A policy’s societal consequences (p. 9). Policy outcomes (sometimes called ‘results’), in contrast [to outputs, Ed.] are the consequences for society, intended or unintended, that stem from deliberate governmental action or in action (p. 291)	PPE
b	Birkland (2011)	The substantive results of the implementation of a policy. Outcomes can be intended or unintended, positive or negative. This differs from outputs which are laws, regulations, rules and the like, or the effort that government expends to address problems. For example, more teaching hours provided by a school district is an output; the outcome would be, one hopes, an improvement in the students’ educational achievement (p. 229).	PPE
c	Cairney (2012)	. . . What is actually achieved. . . (p. 24).	PPE
d	Jones (1970)	What comes out of government (p. 144).	PPE
e	Kraft Furlong (2015)	The effect that such actions [the formal actions that governments take to pursue their goals] actually have on society (p. 4).	PPE
f	Rushefsky (2013)	Outputs are the tangible and symbolic results of government decisions. The economic stimulus package passed in early 2009 is an example of a tangible product (p. 4).	PPT
g	Wilson (2006)	Desired changes in the real world (p. 153).	PPG

Table F14. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Outputs”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	. . . The actions actually taken in pursuance of policy decisions and statements (p. 8). Outputs of the political system include laws, rules, judicial decisions and the like (p. 20). . . . The things actually done by agencies in pursuance of policy decisions and statements (p. 290).	PPT
b	Baumgartner & Jones (2009)	We may think of the policymaking system as consisting of inputs, based on information about social conditions	PPT

		and perceived problems, and outputs, which are the public policy reactions to that information (p. 264).	
c	Birkland (2011)	Outputs are the laws, rules, regulations, and the like; or the effort government expends to address problems (p. 229).	PPT
d	Kraft and Furlong (2015)	The formal actions that governments take to pursue their goals (p. 4).	PPT
e	Rushefsky (2013)	Outcomes are the results of government outputs. If an economic stimulus package results is passed, does it result in the creation of new jobs and promote economic recovery (p. 4)?	PPE
f	Peters (2013)	Policy choices being put into action. . . . Outputs may be virtually synonymous with the term program as it is commonly used in government circles (p. 4.).	PPT
g	Wildavsky (1979)	Outputs, then, are the way to classify goods and services supplied by a public agency and received by (or directed at) the public (p. 355).	PPT

Table F15. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Administration”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Jones (1970)	Those activities specifically directed toward the application of policy to a problem (p. 90).	PPT
b	Peters (2013)	Policy choices being put into action (p. 4).	PPT

Table F16. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Principles”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
A	Page (2006)	General views about how public affairs should be arranged or conducted. Candidates for principles might include privatization, deregulation, consumer choice. . . . (p. 211).	PP; PPG

Table F17. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Statement”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Anderson (2015)	Policy statements . . . usually are formal expressions or articulations of public policy. Among these are legislative statutes, executive orders and decrees, administrative rules and regulations and court opinions, as well as statements and speeches by public officials indicating the government’s intentions and goals and what will be done to realize them (p. 8).	PP; PPT

Table F18. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Tool”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Kraft and Furlong (2015)	The tool, such as regulation or education, that government uses to intervene in a given problem or issue (p 499).	PPT
b	Salamon (2002)	A method by which the government seeks a policy objective salmon Lund (p. 29).	PPT
c	Schneider (2013)	Tools are the incentive and disincentives built into the [policy, Ed.] design intended to ensure that agencies and target groups and any other players in the system take the policy-preferred actions (p. 224).	PPT
d	Schneider & Ingram (1997)	. . . The elements in policy design that cause agents or targets to do something they would not otherwise do with the intention of modifying behavior to solve public problems or attain policy goals (p. 93).	PPT
e	Peters(2013)	Not defined explicitly. Governments have a number of instruments through which they can influence society and the economy and produce changes in the lives of citizens (p. 6).	PPT

Table F19. Representative Definition of the Term “Tool of Public Action”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Salamon (2002)	. . . An identifiable method through which collective action is structured to address a public problem (p. 19).	PPT

Table F20. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy Objective”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Birkland (2011)	The desired outcome of a policy (p 236).	PPG
b	Kraft and Furlong (2015)	What policy proposals seek to achieve (p. 173).	PPG
c	Smith & Larimer (2009)	The outcome of a policy (p. 5)	PPE

Table F21. Representative Definition of the Term “Policy Outputs”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Kraft and Furlong (2015)	The formal actions that governments take to pursue their goals (p. 499)	PPT

Table F22. Representative Definitions of the Term “Policy End”

	Source	Definition	Applicable Categories
a	Smith & Larimer (2009)	The actual ‘impact’ or consequence of public policy (p. 132).	PPE
b	Rein (2006)	Values are the ultimate ends of public policy—the goals and obligations that public policy aims to promote as desirable in their own right, rather than as some clear means to some other specific objective (p. 390).	

Appendix G. Compilation of Definitions of Food Security, Food Insecurity, and Hunger

Note: This compilation of definitions is part of a larger document titled, *Definitions Concerned with Food Security, Nancy Leidenfrost, Hunger, Undernutrition and Poverty*. The document was prepared by Nancy B. Leidenfrost of the U.S.

Department of Agriculture's, Extension Service, with the intent of identifying the existing definitions of food security, food insecurity, hunger, malnutrition, undernutrition, and poverty to facilitate an understanding of current definitions and assist in the development of standard definitions for use by scholars. At one time the complete document was available on the "Hunger Web" maintained by Brown University. That Web site has since been taken down and the only copy of this document is a hard-copy located at the National Agricultural Library in Greenbelt Maryland. Food security, food insecurity, and hunger are such key terms and the access to the document is so limited that it is beneficial to present the following complete listing of Leidenfrost's definitions for reference purposes (Leidenfrost, 1993).

Definitions of Food Security

Compiled by:
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Food Security is defined in its most basic form as access by all people at all times to the food needed for a healthy life. Achieving **Food Security** has three dimensions, first, it is necessary to ensure a safe and nutritionally adequate food supply both at the national level and at the household level. Second, it is necessary to have a reasonable degree of stability in the supply of food both from one year to the other and during the year. Third, and most critical, is the need to ensure that each household has physical, social and economic access to enough food to meet its needs. This means that each household must have the knowledge and the ability to produce or procure the food that it needs on a sustainable basis. In this context, properly balanced diets that supply all necessary nutrients and energy without leading to overconsumption or waste should be encouraged. It is also important to encourage the proper distribution of food within the household, among all its members.

The right to an adequate standard of living, including food, is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Food security should be a fundamental objective of development policy as well as a measure of its success. Household food insecurity affects a wide cross-section of the population in both rural and urban areas. The food-insecure socioeconomic groups may include: farmers, many of them women, with limited access to natural resources and inputs; landless labourers; rural artisans; temporary workers; homeless people; the elderly; refugees and displaced persons; immigrants; indigenous people; small-scale fishermen and forest dwellers; pastoralists; female-headed households; unemployed or underemployed people; isolated rural communities; and the urban poor. Increasing the productivity and incomes of these diverse groups requires adopting multiple policy instruments and striking a balance between short-term and long-term benefits. The choice of policies must be attuned to the characteristics of a country's **Food Security** problem, the nature of the food-insecure population, resource availability and infrastructural and institutional capabilities at all levels of government and communities. Breast-feeding is the most secure means of assuring the **Food Security** of infants and should be promoted and protected through appropriate policies and programmes.

Source

International Conference on Nutrition, Plan of Action, Rome, Italy, December 11, 1992

Food Security : access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life. **Food Security** includes at a minimum:

1. the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and
2. an assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g.; without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies).

Source

Life Sciences Research Office, Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. (1990, July). Core indicators of nutritional state for difficult-to- sample populations. Prepared for American Institute of Nutrition (AIN) under the terms of their Cooperative Agreement No. HPU 880004-01-0 Nutritional Status Indicators of Low-Income Populations with the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion Department of Health and Human Services. Edited by S.A. Anderson. (p. a-1).

[The terms listed were defined by the Ad Hoc Expert Panel on Core Indicators of Nutritional State for Difficult-to-Sample Populations, by the American Institute of Nutrition and American Society for Clinical Nutrition (AIN/ASCN) Task Force on Hunger and Malnutrition (Dietz, W.H., and Trowbridge, F., 1990), or in the reports of the Joint Nutrition Monitoring Evaluation Committee (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1986) and the Expert Panel on Nutrition Monitoring (Life Sciences Research Office, 1989).]

The terms "**Food Security**" and "food insecurity" are both widely used by scientists and policymakers. The "ad hoc Expert Panel" (Department of Health and Human Services, & American Institute of Nutrition) developed definitions of both terms from definitions of several groups (Busch L., & Lacy, W.B., 1984; Campbell, C.C., et al., 1988; Cohen, B.E., & Burt, M.R., 1989; Margen, S., 1989; Radimer, K.L., et al., 1989; Reutlinger, S., & van Holst Pellekaan, J., 1986). **Food Security** is defined as access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life and includes at a minimum:

1. the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and
2. the assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g., without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, and other coping strategies).

Source

Life Sciences Research Office, Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. (1990, July). Core indicators of nutritional state for difficult-to- sample populations. Prepared for American Institute of Nutrition under the terms of their Cooperative Agreement No. HPU 880004-01-0 Nutritional Status Indicators of Low-Income Populations with the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion Department of Health and Human Services. Edited by S.A. Anderson. (p. 21).

[The terms listed were defined by the Ad Hoc Expert Panel on Core Indicators of Nutritional State for Difficult-to-Sample Populations, by the AIN/ASCN Task Force on Hunger and Malnutrition (Dietz, W.H., and Trowbridge, F., 1990), or in the reports of the Joint Nutrition Monitoring Evaluation Committee (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1986) and the Expert Panel on Nutrition Monitoring (Life Sciences Research Office, 1989).]

Food Security, a term often used in discussions of international hunger, refers to the ability of a country to provide adequate amounts of food for its population. While in other countries the issues might involve a lack of available food products, in the United States the problem of **Food Security** does not reflect a lack of food or technical ability to distribute the food. Instead, it reflects problems of availability, affordability and accessibility of food through conventional food channels. Food security is defined as all people obtaining a culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet, through nonemergency (or conventional) food sources, at all times. **Food Security** differs from hunger in that **Food Security** is a problem that a community in a country, state, city, or neighborhood experiences, while hunger is a problem that individuals experience.

Source

Cohen, B.E., & Burt, M.R. (1989, October). Eliminating hunger: **Food Security** policy for the 1990's. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. (p. 50).

Food Security

Goal: To assure that all people have access to

nutritionally adequate and culturally acceptable food, through conventional channels.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY POLICY

COMMUNITY RESOURCES
INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES

Accessibility to Food
Available Disposable Income
- presence of local conventional food sources or provision of public transportation

Availability of Food
Means of Transportation
- presence of nutritious food choices culturally acceptable to local population

Affordability of Food
Cooking and Storage Facilities
- presence of competitively priced foods

Food Security

COMMUNITY MEASURES

- Decrease in use of nonconventional food sources
- Competitive community food prices

INDIVIDUAL MEASURES

- Adequate dietary intake and frequency of eating
- Decrease in medical indicators of inadequate intake (Malnutrition; low birth weight; infant mortality; chronic disease)
- Decrease in social indicators of inadequate intake (family problems; criminal activity; school performance)

Source

Cohen, B.E., & Burt, M.R. (1989, October). Eliminating hunger: **Food Security** policy for the 1990s. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. (p. 53).

Margen (1989), defines **Food Security** as a condition in which all people have access at all times to nutritionally adequate food through normal food channels.

Source

U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on Hunger. (1989, March 28). **Food Security** and methods of assessing hunger in the United States. Testimony by

S. Margen. (Serial No. 101-2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. (p. 7).

[Statement given by Sheldon Margen, M.D., Department of Public Health Nutrition, School of Public Health, University of California at Berkeley.]

— The **Food Security** definition requires an examination as to whether people have access to nutritionally adequate food through normal food channels. So, to measure **Food Security** for an individual or household, we need to know essentially three things. First, what is the cost of a nutritionally adequate diet in the area where the individual or household lives? Second, does the individual or household have the financial and other resources to obtain this food from normal food sources? (Examples of other resources would include transportation and physical and mental capacity to obtain food). Third, what is an individual or household's actual experience in obtaining adequate food? In other words, what are the difficulties encountered, the dependency on emergency food sources, changes in diet and meal patterns forced by problems in getting food, health and social consequences of problems in obtaining adequate food, and so on?

Source

U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on Hunger. (1989, March 28). **Food Security** and methods of assessing hunger in the United States. Testimony of L. Neuhauser. (Serial No. 101-2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. (p. 9).

[Statement given by Linda Neuhauser, Specialist in Community Health, School of Public Health, University of California at Berkeley.]

Food Security has at least three dimensions: the first of these is availability having enough food available for the entire population at all times to sustain human life. To accomplish this, we must have a production system that

- 1. produces enough in the short run,
- 2. is sustainable in the long run,
- 3. does not place undue risks on agricultural producers, and
- 4. responds rapidly to disruptions in the food supply due to natural disasters, civil disturbances, environmental imbalances, or other causes.

A second dimension of **Food Security** is accessibility. The food supply must not be limited by what economists call "effective demand." Low-income populations and inner city residents must have equal access to the food supply. Simply making food available is not enough; one must also be able to purchase it.

A third dimension of **Food Security** is adequacy. An adequate food supply will provide for the differing nutritional needs of the various segments of the population. Adequacy can be conceptualized in terms of balanced diets, offering the necessary variety of foods throughout the year. At the same time, an adequate food supply will provide food that is free from disease and toxic substances.

Moreover, each dimension of **Food Security** must also consider the social, economic, and health costs and benefits of the food system as it is presently organized. A secure food system should not impose undue social, economic, or health costs on any special segment of the population.

Source

Busch, L., & Lacy, W.B. (1984). Introduction: What does **Food Security** mean? In L. Busch & W.B. Lacy (Eds.), **Food Security** in the United States (pp. 1-26). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc. (p. 2).

Food Security has been defined here as having three dimensions availability, accessibility, and adequacy. Wittwer, S.H. (1980, 1982, and 1983) added a fourth, that of dependability. Of equal importance to that of production itself is dependability of supply.

Source

Wittwer, S.H. (1984). **Food Security** in the U.S.: An overview. In **Food Security** in the United States. L. Busch & W.B. Lacy (Eds.), (pp. 397-422). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc. (p. 398).

[Wittwer, S.H. (1980). Future trends in agricultural technology and management. In Long-range Environmental Outlook. Washington, DC: National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences; Wittwer, S.H. (1982). U.S. Agriculture in the context of the world food situation. In Science, technology, and the issues of the eighties: Policy outlook, Eds. A. H. Teich and R. Thornton, pp. 191-214. Boulder: Westview Press; Wittwer, S.H. (1983). The new agriculture: A view from the 21st century. In Agriculture in the Twenty-First Century, pp. 337-67, Philip Morris Operations Complex, Richmond, Virginia, April 11-13, 1983. New York: Wiley.]

Food Security is access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life, and includes at a minimum:

1. the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods; and
2. the assured ability to acquire personally acceptable foods in a socially acceptable way.

Source

Campbell, C. (1990, March 13). Food insecurity: Definitions and measurement. New York: Cornell University.

[adapted from: Reutlinger, S., & van Holst Pellekaan, J., 1986; Campbell, C., Katamay, S., & Connolly, C., 1988; Cohen, B., & Burt, M., 1989; and Radimer, K., Olson, C., & Campbell, C., 1988.]

Food Security is defined as all people obtaining a culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet, through nonemergency (or conventional) food sources, at all times.

Source

Cohen, B.E. (1990, July/August). **Food Security** and hunger policy for the 1990s. Nutrition Today, 24(4), 23-27. (p. 24-25).

[Author from Urban Institute, Washington, DC.]

Food Security has been defined as: "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life."

Source

Campbell, C., Katamay, S., & Connolly C. (1988, Fall). The role of nutrition professionals in the hunger debate. Journal of the Canadian Dietetic Association, 49(4), 230-235. (p. 232).

[Cathy Campbell, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Division of Nutritional Sciences, Cornell University; Stefa Katamay, M.H.Sc., Area Community Nutritionist, Toronto Department of Health; Carmen Connolly, M.A., R.P.Dt., Nutrition Consultant, Community Preventive Health, Toronto, Ontario.]

The 1986 World Bank Policy Study Poverty and Hunger concluded that:

- **Food Security** is access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life. Food insecurity, by contrast, is lack of access to enough food. Countries that have many people suffering from undernutrition have a national **Food Security** problem.
- Ensuring **Food Security** entails meeting two conditions. One condition is ensuring that there are adequate food supplies available, through domestic production or imports. The other is ensuring that households whose members suffer from undernutrition have the ability to acquire food, either because they produce it themselves or because they have the income to acquire it.

Source

Reutlinger, S., van Holst Pellekaan, J. (1986). Poverty and hunger: Issues and options for food security in developing countries. Washington, DC: The World Bank/International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. (p. 1).

The Concept of **Food Security** - In April 1983, the Director- General of FAO, recognizing that the conceptual framework of world **Food Security** must include very broad policy issues relating to agricultural and rural development, food production, stabilization mechanisms, improved access and international trade, put forward an enlarged concept of **Food Security** to the Committee on World **Food Security** (CWFS). In order to take action on a broad front, and yet remain within a manageable focus, he proposed that **Food Security** efforts be directed to three specific goals: adequacy of food supplies; stability in food supplies and markets; and security of access to supplies. The ultimate objective of this broader concept of **Food Security** is to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need.

This broader concept of **Food Security** by the Committee on World **Food Security** (CWFS), the FAO Council and Conference, and by the World Food Council and Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It has been referred to in numerous texts and resolutions since, and forms the basis of the international consensus on actions required at global, regional, and national levels to achieve world **Food Security** . (1)

(1) This broader concept of **Food Security** is similar to that adopted by the World Bank 3 years later in its position paper Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for **Food Security** in Developing Countries: (March 10, 1986).

Source

Food and Agriculture Organization. (1989, October 27). **Food Security** assistance programme. Rome, Italy: United Nations. (p. 2).

World **Food Security** , which can be defined broadly as the ability of the Earth to feed adequately its growing number of people, requires attention to both agriculture and the environment in a global setting.

Source

CRS Report for Congress. Humphlett, P.E., Hanrahan, C.E., Fletcher, S.R., & Smith, M.S. (1989, October 10). Satellite technology and world **Food Security** . (89-566 RCO). Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. (p. 3).

Definitions of Food Insecurity

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Food insecurity can be measured at several different levels or units of analysis. The exact dimensions that need to be measured vary, depending on the unit of analysis chosen (national, community, household, or individual levels).

Three dimensions of **food security** need to be measured at the community level:

1. the quantity and quality of available food,
2. its accessibility; i.e., physically, in terms of grocery store location and transportation systems, and
3. affordability or price relative to the ability to marshal resources.

At the individual and household levels, four dimensions (quantity, quality, psychological acceptability, and social acceptability) need to be measured to identify **food insecurity**. At the individual level these measures are adequacy of energy intake, adequacy of nutrient intake, feelings of deprivation or restricted choice, and normal meal patterns, respectively. At the household level, they are repleteness of household stores, quality and safety of available foods, anxiety about food supplies, and sources of food (conventional or otherwise), respectively.

The involuntary nature of any limitation or restriction in these dimensions becomes an integral part of measurement of **food insecurity** and is usually addressed with followup questions. Such questions include "Is that because there isn't enough money to buy food, or is there another reason?" or with a clause actually included in the questions such as, "Do your children ever eat less than you feel they should because there is not enough money for food?" or, "Do you ever worry whether your food will run out before you get money to buy more?" Although financial limitations are the most common constraint, other potential limitations include conditions such as institutionalization or disabilities that may result in a dependence on others for acquiring and preparing food and for feeding [Dwyer, J., & Eshlemann, R., (1990) Selecting dietary methodologies for older subjects. Paper presented at NHLBI-NIA Workshop--Heart-healthy diets for older Americans: Issues and opportunities, March 7-8, Bethesda, MD]. The periodicity or duration of an episode of **food insecurity** also must be part of either the measurement used (the question or response category), or the design of the study. Actual indicators and data collection protocols for each of these dimensions can vary. (See Appendix A for examples of scales developed for measuring hunger and **food insecurity**).

Source

Life Sciences Research Office, Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. (1990, July). Core indicators of nutritional state for difficult-to- sample populations. Prepared for American Institute of Nutrition under the terms of their Cooperative Agreement No. HPU 880004-01-0 Nutritional Status Indicators of Low-Income Populations with the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Department of Health and Human Services. Edited by S.A. Anderson. (pp. 21-22).

[The terms listed were defined by the Ad Hoc Expert Panel on Core Indicators of Nutritional State for Difficult-to-Sample Populations, by the AIN/ASCN Task Force on Hunger and Malnutrition (Dietz, W.H., and Trowbridge, F., 1990), or in the reports of the Joint Nutrition Monitoring Evaluation Committee (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1986) and the Expert Panel on Nutrition Monitoring (Life Sciences Research Office, 1989).]

--- Scales for Measuring Hunger and **Food Insecurity** , Appendix A-1, A-2, A-3

A-1 (1) Radimer, K.L., Olson, C.M., & Campbell, C.C. (1989). Development of indicators to assess hunger. Paper presented at the AIN Conference on Nutrition Monitoring and Nutrition Status Assessment, December 8-10, 1989, Charleston, SC.

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Food Insecurity : limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways.

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Three dimensions of **food security** need to be measured at the community level: (1) the quantity and quality of available food, (2) its accessibility; i.e., physically, in terms of grocery store location and transportation systems, and (3) affordability or price relative to the ability to marshal resources.

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Food insecurity describes a situation where individuals in a society lack either physical and/or economic access to the food they need.

Source

Food and Agriculture Organization. (1989, October 27). Food security assistance programme. Rome, Italy: United Nations. (p. 6). Development. (p. 1).



Converted to HTML by Daniel_Zalik@brown.edu

Definitions of Hunger

Compiled by:
Nancy B. Leidenfrost
National Program Leader
Extension Service, USDA
February 1993
nleidenf@esusda.gov

Hunger may be defined as "a condition resulting from chronic under-consumption of food and/or nutritious food products." It may be precipitated by an inability to obtain sufficient quantities of food to eat or a failure to consume adequate quantities of nutritious food products, regardless of the ability to obtain sufficient food supplies. (1)

Source

Lenhart, N.M., & Read, M.H. (1989, September). Demographic profile and nutrient intake assessment of individuals using emergency food programs. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 89(9), 1269-1272. (p. 1269).

(1) Physicians' Task Force on **Hunger** in America. (1985). **Hunger** in America: The growing epidemic. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

The report of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance used the word "**hunger**" in two ways. First, **hunger** can be defined as a condition in which the level of nutrition necessary for good health is not being met because one lacks access to food. Second, **hunger**, in a looser sense of the word, also means a situation in which someone cannot obtain an adequate amount of food, even if the shortage is not prolonged enough to cause health problems.

Source

The President's Task Force on Food Assistance. (1984, January). Report of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Washington, DC (p. 3).

Any attempt at estimating the extent of **hunger** should distinguish between two interpretations of the concept:

The word "**hunger**" is used by health professionals to indicate physiological problems of undernutrition;

It is used by most lay people to indicate also someone's inability even occasionally to obtain adequate amounts of food.

Source

The President's Task Force on Food Assistance. (1984, January). Report of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Washington, DC (p. xiv).

Hunger as commonly defined means not just symptoms that can be diagnosed by a physician, it bespeaks the existence of a social, not a medical problem: a situation in which someone cannot obtain an

adequate amount of food, even if the shortage is not prolonged enough to cause health problems.

Source

The President's Task Force on Food Assistance. (1984, January). Report of the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Washington, DC (p. 36).

Hunger - The uneasy or painful sensation caused by lack of food. The recurrent and involuntary lack of access to food. **Hunger** may produce malnutrition over time. **Hunger**, as the recurrent and involuntary lack of access to food that may produce malnutrition over time, is referred to as "consequences of food insecurity."

Source

Life Sciences Research Office, Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. (1990, July). Core indicators of nutritional state for difficult-to- sample populations. Prepared for American Institute of Nutrition under the terms of their Cooperative Agreement No. HPU 880004-01-0 Nutritional Status Indicators of Low-Income Populations with the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Department of Health and Human Services. Edited by S.A. Anderson. (p. a-2).

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In 1988, the American Institute of Nutrition and the American Society of Clinical Nutrition initiated a joint Task Force on **Hunger** and Malnutrition. This task force defined **hunger** as follows:

Hunger is a recurrent, involuntary lack of access to food. **Hunger** may produce malnutrition over time.

Source

Dietz, W.H., & Trowbridge, F.L. (1990, August). Symposium on the identification and prevalence of undernutrition in the United States: Introduction. The Journal of Nutrition, 120(8), 917-918. (p. 917).

[Dietz - Pediatric Gastroenterology/Nutrition, New England Medical Center, Boston] [Trowbridge - Division of Nutrition, Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Centers for Disease Control, Atlanta, GA]

In this review **hunger** is defined as the physiological manifestations of acute, current food shortage such as that which occurs when a child is deprived of a meal. [secondary reference: Allen, L.H. (1984). Functional indicators of nutritional status of the whole individual or the community. Clinical Nutrition, 3, 169-175.]

Source

Allen, L.H. (1990, August). Functional indicators and outcomes of undernutrition. The Journal of Nutrition, 120(8), 924-932. (p. 924).

[Author from Department of Nutritional Sciences, University of Connecticut.]

Community Childhood **Hunger** Identification Project (CCHIP) defines **hunger** as the mental and physical condition that comes from not eating enough food due to insufficient economic, family, or community resources. The measurement of **hunger** developed by CCHIP attempts to detect food insufficiency due to constrained resources. The CCHIP survey measures insecurity about having the resources to procure foods of choice, perceived insufficiency of food intake, actual food shortages, and alteration of eating behaviors due to restricted or inadequate resources.

Source

Community Childhood **Hunger** Identification Project. (1991). A survey of childhood **hunger** in the United States. (Executive Summary). Washington, DC: Food Research and Action Center.

The definition proposed by Cohen and Burt looks at **hunger** as a process. It is not one discrete event, but a sequence of events that leads up to and follows a lack of adequate food intake. It is the process in which people become at risk of **hunger**, attempt to cope with the problem, and suffer a variety of health and social consequences. The specific definition is "the state of being unable to obtain a nutritionally adequate diet from nonemergency food channels."

Source

Cohen, B.E. (1990, July/August). Food security and **hunger** policy for the 1990s. *Nutrition Today*, 24(4), 23-27. (pp. 23-24).

[Author from Urban Institute, Washington, DC.]

Hunger is at once the most common and broadly descriptive term and the most difficult to define specifically. In simplest terms, **hunger** can be described as inadequate access to food for short or long periods of time. **Hunger** is more than a sensation.

Source

U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition of the Committee on Agriculture. (1984). **Hunger** in the United States and related issues. Testimony by I.H. Rosenberg. (Serial No. 98-63). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. (p. 116).

[Testimony by Irwin H. Rosenberg, M.D., Professor of Medicine and Director of the Clinical Nutrition Research Center at the University of Chicago. President of the American Society for Clinical Nutrition and current Chairman of the United States- Japan Joint Panel on Malnutrition.]

For the purposes of the Task Force's work, **hunger** is defined as "the inability to obtain the needed quantity and/or quality of food because of lack of resources."

Source

Governor's Task Force on **Hunger**. (1988, October). **Hunger** in Washington State. Spokane, WA: Office of the Governor, State of Washington. (p. 6).

Hunger : "the process of being unable to obtain a nutritionally adequate diet from non-emergency food channels: Cohen & Hunt, Urban Institute, 1989.

Hunger (or food insecurity): "the inability to acquire or consume an adequate quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty of being able to do so." Radimer, K.L., Olson, C.M., & Campbell, C.C., Cornell University, Dec. 1989.

Source

Campbell, C. (1990, March 13). Food insecurity: Definitions and measurement. New York: Cornell University.

Hunger is the inability to acquire or consume an adequate quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty of being able to do so.

Source

Radimer, K.L., Olson, C.M., & Campbell, C.C. (1990, November). Development of indicators to assess **hunger**. The Journal of Nutrition, 120(11S), 1544-1548. (p. 1546).

[These authors are from Cornell University, Division of Nutritional Sciences.]

[Presented as part of a conference, "Nutrition Monitoring and Nutrition Status Assessment," at the first fall meeting of the American Institute of Nutrition, Charleston, South Carolina, December 8-10, 1989. The conference was supported in part by cooperative agreement HPU880004-02-1 with the DHHS Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, the USDA Human Nutrition Information Service, the DHHS National Center for Health Statistics, and the International Life Sciences Institute-Nutrition Foundation.]

It is generally agreed that **hunger** is the state of being unable to obtain enough food to satisfy the minimum requirements of a nutritionally adequate diet. However, from a policy standpoint, **hunger** is the result of a process in which people become at risk of **hunger**, attempt to cope with the problem and suffer a variety of health and social consequences. **Hunger**, in this report, is defined as the process of being unable to obtain a nutritionally adequate diet from nonemergency food channels.

Source

Cohen, B.E., & Burt, M.R. (1989, October). Eliminating **hunger**: Food security policy for the 1990s. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. (p. ii).

Hunger is defined as food insecurity or the lack of access to nutritionally adequate food through normal food channels. Abnormal channels refers to obtaining food by scavenging in trash bins, depending on soup kitchens, food pantries, food banks, et cetera.

Source

U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on **Hunger**. (1989, March 28). Food security and methods of assessing **hunger** in the United States. Testimony by S. Margen. (Serial No. 101-2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. (p. 7).

[Statement given by Sheldon Margen, M.D., Department of Public Health Nutrition, School of Public Health, University of California at Berkeley.]

The term **hunger** is subclinical. In other words, it is a subjective impression best measured by the person actually experiencing it.

In measuring **hunger**, USDA does not have an operational definition of **hunger** in terms of food sufficiency. However, in using data obtained in our Nationwide Food Consumption Surveys, we have measured food sufficiency in three ways:

1. Self reports of food sufficiency;
2. Diet quality in terms of available or actual intakes of food, food energy, or nutrients; and
3. Economic status in terms of reported income, assets or other indicators of economic status such as food expenditures. (See Appendix B1.)

Source

U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on **Hunger**. (1989, March 28). Food Security and Methods of Assessing **Hunger** in the United States. Testimony by J.W. Bode. (Serial No. 101-2). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. (pp. 27-28).

[Statement given by John W. Bode, Assistant Secretary, Food and Consumer Services, U.S. Department of Agriculture.]

Hunger is defined (in this report) as the chronic underconsumption of food and nutrients.

Source

Physician Task Force on **Hunger** in America. (1985). **Hunger** in America: The growing epidemic. Harvard School of Public Health. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. (p. 213).

It isn't easy to look at **hunger** in perspective. Even defining " **hunger** " raises debate, since it is clearly a condition of degree. It may be a craving for food, a weakened condition from a lack of nourishment, or a yearning stemming from a self-denial, such as a diet or fast.

The effects of **hunger**, than range from temporary discomfort to death. The Citizen's Board of Inquiry into **Hunger** and Malnutrition in the United States (CBHM) defined **hunger** as "a condition where people are forced to go days each month without one full meal." Although still somewhat arbitrary, the definition does allow for measurement. Perhaps equally essential for a workable policy definition of the **hunger** problem, it contains the element of force, and it incorporates (through frequency) the concept of degree.

Source

U.S. Department of Agriculture. (1978, May). A 10- Year War on " **Hunger** U.S.A.". (p. 13).

Hunger, simply defined, is a craving for food. From time to time all of us have had a craving for food, and to that extent we have experienced **hunger**. However **hunger**, as used here, is a chronic condition in which people are forced to go for days without a full meal. People who are chronically hungry may try to ease their craving for food by filling their stomachs with thin soups, stale bread, or cereals, or with whatever else they can find.

Source

Leinwand, G. (1985). **Hunger** and malnutrition in America. New York: Franklin Watts. (p. 25).

Hunger is the sensation caused by not having enough food. It's the stomach pain when you skip a meal, or eat later than usual. It's a gnawing sensation when too many meals are missed; a body-consuming numbness after many days without food. Prolonged **hunger** has damaging effects on health, growth, and chances for survival.

Source

Food Research and Action Center. (1983, Spring). How to document **hunger** in your community. Washington, DC: Food Research and Action Center. (p. 7).

The use of the term "**hunger**" to represent concerns about an inadequate or inappropriate food intake may be misleading. In fact, **hunger** (a craving for food) is not a measurable phenomenon, but a sensation experienced whether a single meal is missed or deprivation of food occurs over a period of time. The term **hunger** has come to be used to refer to situations in which there is inadequate food intake.

Source

CRS Report for Congress. Porter, D.V., Richardson, J. (1986, October 6). Hunger in brief: Reports and proposals for expanded Federal efforts. (86-703 EPW). Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. (p. 2).

The hungry of the world are those whose food intake or absorption is insufficient to provide the energy and nutrients essential for health, activity, and human development. Among the hungry are the quarter or more of the world's population resident in food-short countries, the fifth of the world's population resident in foodpoor households, and the third of the world's small children who are food deprived.

Source

Kates, R.W., Shen, R.S., Downing, T.E., Kasperson, J.X., Messer, E., & Millman, S.R. (1989, March). The **hunger** report: Update 1989. The Alan Shawn Feinstein World Hunger Program. (HR-89-1). Providence, RI: Brown University. (p. 1).



Converted to HTML by Daniel_Zalik@brown.edu

Appendix H. Codebook for The Media-Policy Relationship: Anti-Hunger Policy in America as an Example of Bridging Media and Policy Theory Through Better Definitions

Codebook for Content Analysis of Newspaper Editorial and News Articles for the

Periods: September 29, 1975 to September 29, 1979; August 22, 1994 to August 22, 1998; June 18, 2006 to June 18, 2010; February 7, 2012 to February 7, 2016.

1. Coder Initials: Use your own initials as the coder initials, unless you have been assigned some other coder designation for this category.

2. Article Number: Use the story number assigned for each story. Assign numbers by using first the **newspaper number** that are used in Item 4 (Newspaper) as the starting number, then the numbers **for month, day, and year** and finally the **article number** for that article.

For example, the first article from the *Washington Post* on October 29, 1975 would be: 2102975001. The second article, which appeared November 21, 1975 would be: 2112175002. Assume the first article from the *New York Times* appeared on October 7, 1975. It would be 1100775001. Write this on the **code sheet**.

3. Story Date: *Record the story date in numerals* according to the month, date, and year as follows: **MMDDYY**. For example, October 22, 2004 would be 102204.

4. Newspaper: *Mark the number of the newspaper publishing the article.*

1. *New York Times*
2. *Washington Post*
3. *USA Today*

* Because *USA Today* did not begin publication until 1982, the pool of articles to be coded will not include any *USA Today* articles for the 1975 to 1979-time period.

5. Article title: Write the full title of the article.

6. Article type: *Mark the type of the article type using the guidelines provided below:*

1. Editorial
2. News

Article Type	Newspaper	Means of Identifying Article Type
Editorial	<i>New York Times</i>	At the conclusion of the article the identifier “Document Type” will say: Editorial.
	<i>Washington Post</i>	1994-1998: The “Section” listing just below the title will say “Opinion Editorial,” or it will say “Editorial,” and the “Document Type” at the end of the article will say, “Editorial.” 2006-2010: In the document description below the headline of the article, the “Section” Identifier will say, “Editorial” or “Editorial Copy” and no by-line is given. If a by-line is given and it is other than “Editorial Board” then the article is an Op Ed and is not coded. 2012-2016: the by-line will say, “Editorial Board.”
	<i>USA Today</i>	The “Section” line under the headline will say “News” and the article will have no by-line.
News		

	<i>New York Times</i>	A by-line attribution appears just below the headline of the article, and at the end of the article no “Document Type” is listed
	<i>Washington Post</i>	A by-line attribution appears just below the headline of the article and at the end of the article no “Document Type” is listed.
	<i>USA Today</i>	Below the headline the “Section” line will say either “News,” “Life,” “Money,” “News,” or “Sports,” If the “Section” line says anything other just than “News” such as “News-Commentary,” or “News-Debate” it is not coded as a “News” article. It is an Op-Ed article and is not coded.

If the article is labeled “opinion,” “Op-Ed,” or “commentary” do not code it. It is outside the scope of this project.

7. Frame type: *Record the frame type:*

1. Problem
2. Tool

****To determine the frame type, examine the headline and the first three paragraphs of the article to identify the appearance of the following key words in the headline or the first three paragraphs of the article. Select the frame type based on the presence of the key word(s). If an article contains key words related to both **Problem** and **Tool** frames in the headline and/or the first three paragraphs count the occurrences of each key word and code the article according to the frame which is represented by the greater number of key word references. For example, an article that contains both the words “hunger” and “food stamps” in the headline and “hunger” is referenced twice in the first three paragraphs and “food stamps” appears five times in those paragraphs is coded as a **Tool** frame type. Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program and the acronym SNAP are coded as the **Tool** frame type.**

Frame Type	Key Word	
Problem	Hunger Hungry Very low food security Food security Food insecurity	
Tool	Food stamp(s) Supplemental nutrition assistance program SNAP	

8. Existence of Hunger:

1. Affirmed
2. Disputed
3. Reader decide
4. Not mentioned

Code articles according to the following rules:

1	Affirmed	Articles that mention feeding the hungry, the needs of the hungry, actions or events causing hunger, statics describing the number of hungry people or quotes from sources whose organizations contain the word hunger or are described as “anti-hunger” or “hunger relief” organizations unless disputed by another source
2	Disputed	Articles where the sources or data presented clearly disputes the existence of hunger
3	Reader Decides	If there is an equal focus of sources or data affirming and disputing the existence of hunger
4	Not Mentioned	The words hunger and hungry are not mentioned in the article.

8. **Source:** Mark the source or sources that appear in the article according to the table below. Code all sources that quoted in the article. Only code a source once. If three different recipients of food stamp or supplemental nutrition assistance program (SNAP) benefits are quoted in the article enter the source code **2** only once. If a government report is cited code the report according to the agency that generated the report. A report from the U.S. Department of Agriculture would be coded **8**.

Code	Sources
1	Academic (author of a study or expert identified as an academic or affiliated with and institution)
2	Citizen recipient (of food stamps/SNAP)
3	Citizen non-recipient (those not receiving food stamps/SNAP or those trying to get food stamps/SNAP)
4	Congressional member - House
5	Congressional member - Senate
6	Congressional staffer (anyone other than a Congressperson or senator)
7	Editorial board
8	Federal government provider of food stamps/SNAP (includes any USDA official or official of a USDA agency such as Food and Nutrition Service and Economic Research Service)
9	Federal government non-provider (officials of other federal agencies other than USDA such as Government Accounting (Accountability) Office and Health and Human Services)
10	First lady
11	For profit enterprise leader (anyone operating or the officer of a for profit business such as a corporation and grocery store)
12	Journalist
13	Judge

14	Law enforcement official (Office of Inspector General agents, police officers, prosecutors)
15	Local government official (mayors, city agencies heads or staff)
16	Non-Governmental Organization-provider of food assistance (food banks, “Feeding the Hungry, “New York City Coalition Against Hunger,” charitable organizations involved in food drives, except churches-see #24)
17	Non-Governmental Organization-not provider of benefits (Brookings Institute, Cato, American Enterprise Institute, Food Research and Action Center and so forth)
18	Opinion columnist
19	President
20	Presidential candidate
21	Presidential candidate surrogate/campaign staff
22	Presidential staffer (anyone working in the White House not the President)
23	Religious Leader – non-provider of service
24	Religious Leader – provider of service (Bishop or other senior official in charge of religious charitable services such as food banks and feeding programs)
25	State government non-provider of food stamps/SNAP (Any State government official that is not a State legislator, governor, head or staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)
26	State government provider of food stamps/SNAP (Governors, heads and staff of State agencies directly involved in overseeing, running the food stamp/SNAP programs)
27	State legislator

9. Target Social Group: Code **Problem** frame articles according to the social group that is affected by hunger, being hungry or suffering from very low food security according to the codes provided below. If person or group suffering from hunger are seniors or the middle class code the target group **1**. If they are poor or children, code the target group **2**. Code **Tool** frame articles according to the group that the tool is intended to benefit or the group the tool will affect. An article calling for Congress not to cut food stamps because the poor require assistance is coded **2**. A proposal to cut food stamp benefits would also be coded **2**, because it is the poor who receive the benefits that are

going to be cut or reduced. In both cases the poor are the “targets” of the policy action. An exception would be cuts or other actions that were specifically being done to “save the taxpayers money.” In that case, the target group is coded as **1**.

Code	Target Social Group	Group Members
1	Advantaged	
		Small Business Homeowners Military Scientists Disabled Middle Class Seniors Taxpayers
2	Dependents	
		Mothers Children The Poor Homeless
3	Contenders	
		Big Business CEO's Labor Unions Polluting Industries The Radical Right Environmentalists Gun Manufacturers
4	Potential Outliers	
		Feminist Movement Gay/Lesbian Criminals Terrorists

10. Tone: Tone refers to the direction, focus or implication of the article. From the list of tones given below select the one the represents the predominate tone of the article.

If there is an equal focus among different tones, then the article is coded as “Reader

Decides.” Note that the coding need not be related to the opinions of the author of the article; tone does not necessarily reflect journalistic slant. Tone may refer to an opinion suggested by the author of the article or to the activities that are reported.¹¹⁶

Direction or Focus of the Article or Activities described in the Article		Code
CHARITY FEEDS THE HUNGRY		
	Call for volunteers to work at food banks or charitable feeding organizations/events	1
	Charity (food banks etc.) creating new programs or expanding	1
	Charity meeting the need where SNAP/food stamps cannot	1
	Gleaning projects or efforts	1
	People go to food banks for help	1
	People volunteer at food banks and other charitable feeding organizations/events	1
	Charities feeding hundreds of people or feeding hungry people	1
CHILDHOOD HUNGER EXISTS		
	Cuts will impact children	2
	There are X number of children hungry	2
CURRENT SNAP/FOOD STAMPS PROGRAM INSUFFICIENT		
	SNAP/food stamps don't last the entire month; run out before the end of the month	3
	Rising food prices impact SNAP/food stamps recipients	3
CUT SNAP/FOOD STAMPSS/SNAP		
	Convert SNAP/food stamps from an entitlement program to block grants	4

¹¹⁶ The description of “tone” and the guidance for coding for “tone” are taken from *The Decline of the Death Penalty and the Discovery of Innocence* by Baumgartner, De Boef, and Boydston 2008.

Direction or Focus of the Article or Activities described in the Article		Code
	Cut or reduce SNAP/food stamps costs by changing eligibility or other factors. Denying SNAP/food stamps to a specific segment of the population.	4
	Cuts are justified because able bodied people should work not get hand outs	4
	Cuts are justified because welfare makes people dependent	4
	Cuts are necessary because the SNAP/food stamps program is too costly	4
	SNAP/food stamps part of welfare programs (Medicare, social security and so forth) should be reformed	4
	It is charities job to feed the hungry	4
SNAP/FOOD STAMPSS ARE NECESSARY		
	Bureaucracy creates barriers to obtaining SNAP/food stamps; leads to errors or computer problems	5
	Calls to make SNAP/food stamps more accessible	5
	Cutting SNAP/food stamps results in hunger or people going hungry	5
	Descriptions of persons lawfully using SNAP/food stamps	5
	SNAP/food stamps cuts criticized as unfair, unwise, mean-spirited	5
	SNAP/food stamps should be expanded	5
	Individuals do not go hungry because they have SNAP/food stamps	5
	Individuals receiving SNAP/food stamps or living on SNAP/food stamps	5
	State and local governments request waivers to SNAP/food stamps program rules to retain eligibility for one or more groups of recipients	5
	End restrictions that limit access such as the “purchase requirement,” or not being a citizen	5
SNAP/FOOD STAMPS ARE PART OF THE SOCIAL SAFETY NET		
	Statements that SNAP/food stamps are part of the safety net	6
SNAP/FOOD STAMPS USE IS STIMATIZED		
	Won’t take SNAP/food stamps/welfare	7

Direction or Focus of the Article or Activities described in the Article	Code
HUNGER DOES NOT EXIST	
Hunger doesn't exist	8
Reports of hunger are exaggerated or simply wrong	8
There are not that many hungry people	8
HUNGER EXISTS	
Hunger a growing problem	9
There are X number of hungry people	9
OBESITY AND SNAP/FOOD STAMPSS LINKED	
SNAP/food stamps recipients are obese or overweight	10
SNAP/food stamps recipients have unhealthy eating habits	10
THE READER DECIDES	
Articles that cannot be given an individual code because of multiple tones present	11
Criticisms of program such as call for cuts, eligibility restrictions, cost of program are presented along with defenses of the program and calls to avoid cuts, retain or expand eligibility and the benefits of the program	11
Descriptions of planned Congressional or state actions without arguments for or against	11
Descriptions of planned or actual Congressional or State actions with arguments for or against	11
People take the SNAP/food stamps Challenge	11
SAVE THE SNAP/FOOD STAMPS PROGRAM	
Calls to not cut SNAP/food stamps program or reduce benefits	12
Calls to restore previous SNAP/food stamps program cuts	12
Cuts will hurt the poor or create hunger	12
SNAP/food stamps generate more dollars than they cost	12
SNAP/food stamps set a national floor for individual's income	12

Direction or Focus of the Article or Activities described in the Article		Code
	SNAP/food stamps should be saved	12
	It is the federal government's responsibility to feed the hungry	12
	Recipients use SNAP/food stamps as an aid to succeed, get off welfare	12
	The economy suffers when SNAP/food stamps are cut	12
THE SAFETY NET IS NECESSARY		
	Food banks struggle to meet increased demand in times of economic distress or cuts to SNAP/food stamps program	13
	SNAP/food stamps recipients can now use SNAP/food stamps at farmers' markets	13
SENIOR HUNGER EXISTS		
	There are X number of seniors hungry	14

Appendix I. Major Nutrition Program Costs---1969 to 2015

Four Largest Nutrition Programs by Budget						
1969 to 2015						
(in Millions)						
	SNAP/Food Stamps	School Lunch	School Breakfast	Special Milk	Total	SNAP/Food Stamps as a Percentage of Total
1969	250.50	203.8	5.4	101.3	561.00	44.65%
1970	576.90	300.2	10.8	101.2	989.10	58.33%
1971	1,575.90	532.2	19.4	91.2	2,218.70	71.03%
1972	1,866.70	738.7	24.9	90.3	2,720.60	68.61%
1973	2,207.40	882.1	34.6	90.8	3,214.90	68.66%
1974	2,837.50	1,085.4	59.1	49.2	4,031.20	70.39%
1975	4,618.70	1,289.0	86.1	122.9	6,116.70	75.51%
1976	5,685.50	1,491.5	113.7	138.5	7,429.20	76.53%
1977	5,461.00	1,570.3	148.6	150.0	7,329.90	74.50%
1978	5,519.70	1,808.3	181.2	135.3	7,644.50	72.20%
1979	6,939.80	1,983.7	231.0	133.6	9,288.10	74.72%
1980	9,206.50	2,279.4	287.8	145.2	11,918.90	77.24%
1981	11,225.20	2,380.6	331.7	100.8	14,038.30	79.96%
1982 ³¹	10,836.70	2,185.4	317.3	18.3	13,357.70	81.13%
1983	11,847.10	2,401.8	343.8	17.4	14,610.10	81.09%
1984	11,578.80	2,507.7	364.0	16.0	14,466.50	80.04%
1985	11,703.20	2,578.4	379.3	15.8	14,676.70	79.74%
1986	11,638.40	2,714.6	406.3	15.5	14,774.80	78.77%
1987	11,604.20	2,797.1	446.8	15.5	14,863.60	78.07%
1988	12,316.80	2,916.4	482.1	18.7	15,734.00	78.28%
1989	12,901.59	3,005.2	513.4	18.5	16,438.72	78.48%
1990	15,447.26	3,213.9	599.2	19.2	19,279.47	80.12%
1991	18,747.27	3,524.6	689.9	19.8	22,981.56	81.58%
1992	22,462.34	3,856.1	791.1	19.5	27,129.16	82.80%
1993	23,652.97	4,081.3	873.3	18.7	28,626.38	82.63%
1994	24,493.45	4,290.7	963.6	17.8	29,765.49	82.29%
1995	24,620.37	4,466.2	1,049.0	17.0	30,152.57	81.65%
1996	24,330.99	4,661.5	1,118.8	16.8	30,128.06	80.76%
1997	21,507.55	4,934.1	1,214.3	17.4	27,673.32	77.72%
1998	18,988.32	5,101.6	1,272.2	16.8	25,378.96	74.82%

Four Largest Nutrition Programs by Budget						
1969 to 2015						
(in Millions)						
	SNAP/Food Stamps	School Lunch	School Breakfast	Special Milk	Total	SNAP/Food Stamps as a Percentage of Total
1999	17,820.92	5,314.5	1,345.5	16.5	24,497.47	72.75%
2000	17,054.02	5,492.9	1,393.3	15.4	23,955.65	71.19%
2001	17,789.39	5,612.3	1,450.1	15.5	24,867.39	71.54%
2002	20,637.02	6,049.6	1,566.7	16.1	28,269.32	73.00%
2003	23,816.28	6,340.6	1,651.8	14.3	31,822.93	74.84%
2004	27,099.03	6,663.1	1,775.8	14.2	35,552.12	76.22%
2005	31,072.11	7,055.3	1,927.2	16.4	40,071.00	77.54%
2006	32,903.06	7,387.9	2,041.9	14.6	42,347.49	77.70%
2007	33,173.52	7,706.1	2,163.5	13.6	43,056.70	77.05%
2008	37,639.64	8,264.8	2,365.5	14.9	48,284.78	77.95%
2009	53,620.01	8,874.5	2,582.6	14.1	65,091.25	82.38%
2010	68,283.94	9,751.7	2,859.2	11.9	80,906.84	84.40%
2011	75,687.18	10,105.0	3,034.2	12.3	88,838.67	85.20%
2012	78,411.05	10,414.3	3,277.0	12.3	92,114.63	85.12%
2013	79,929.09	11,057.6	3,514.0	10.7	94,511.38	84.57%
2014	74,137.24	11,355.7	3,685.3	10.5	89,188.70	83.12%
2015	73,193.96	11,698.2	3,892.7	10.5	88,795.28	82.43%
TOTAL	1,108,916.07	214,926.0	53,884.8	1,982.9	1,379,709.82	80.37%

Appendix J. All Meta-Tones For Both The Hunger Problem And Save Snap/Food Stamps Policy Tool Frames, By Individual News Source

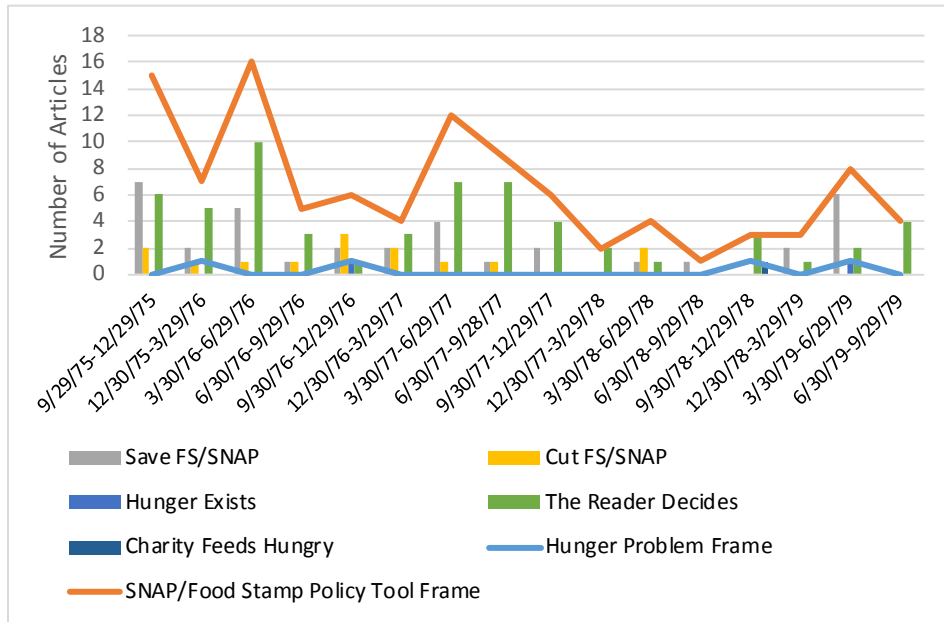


Figure J1. *New York Times*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food Stamp Act of 1977.

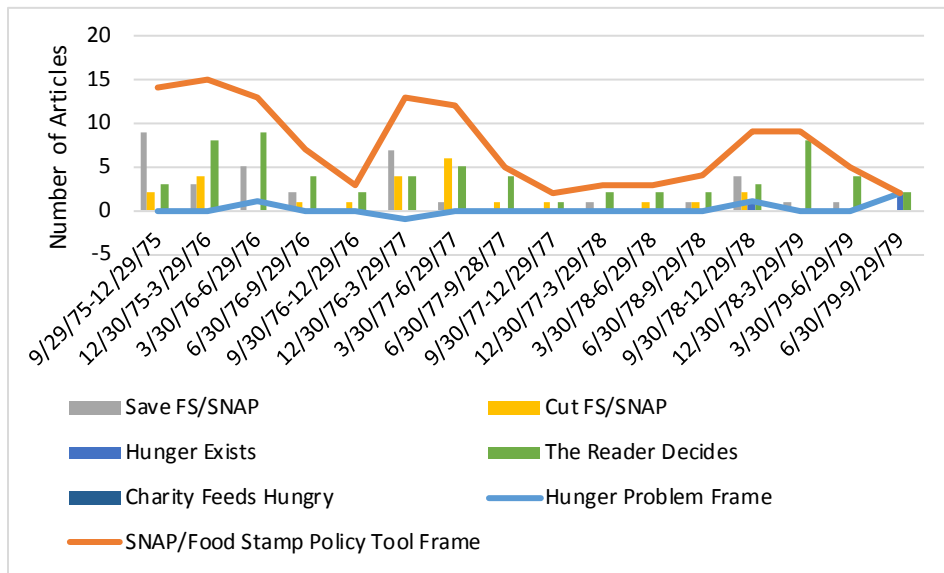


Figure J2. *Washington Post*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food Stamp Act of 1977.

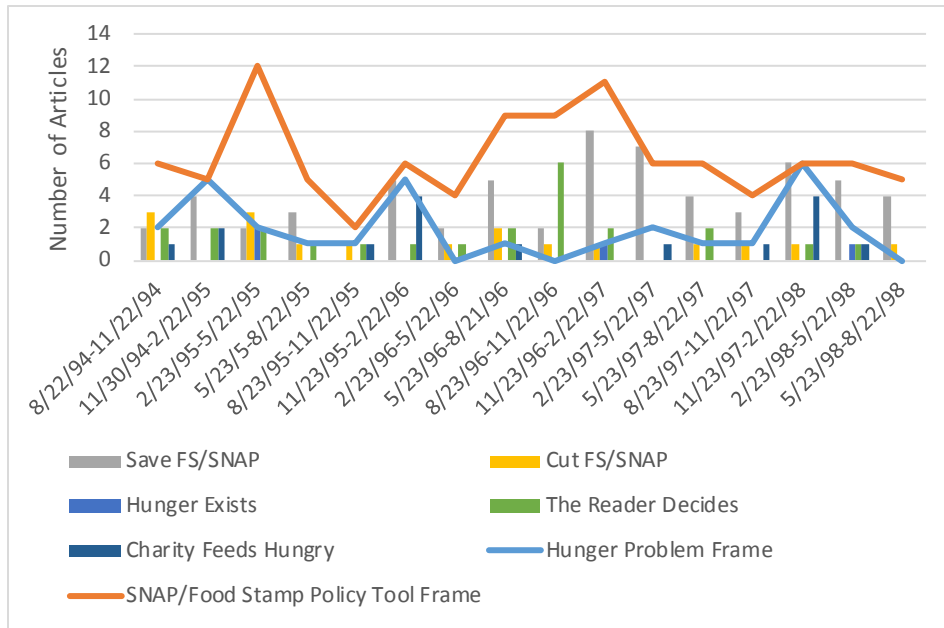


Figure J3. *New York Times*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

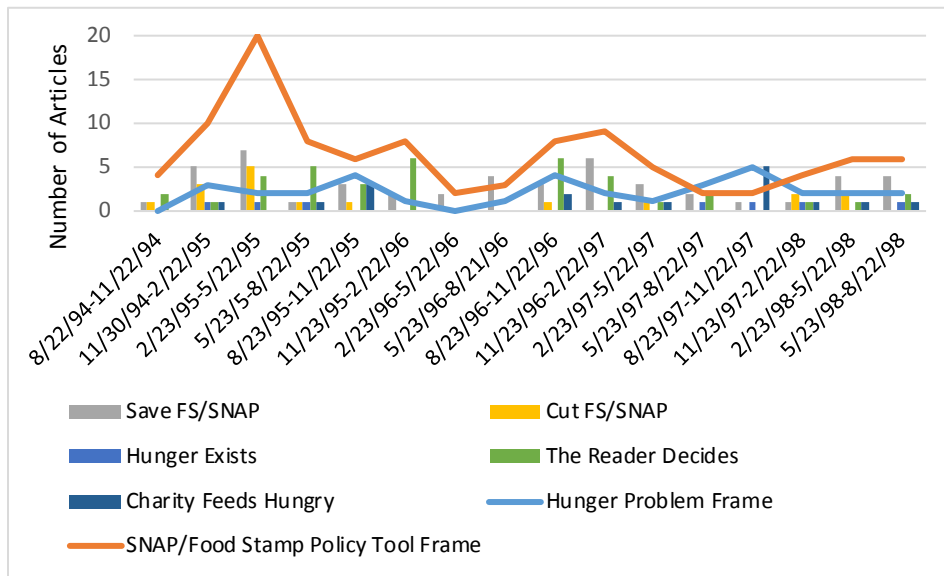


Figure J4. *Washington Post*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

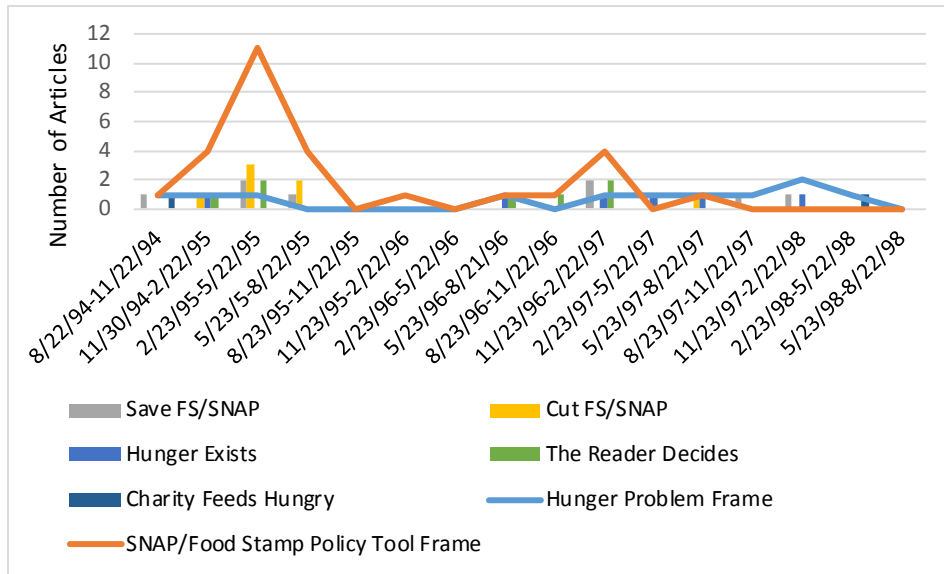


Figure J5. *USA Today*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

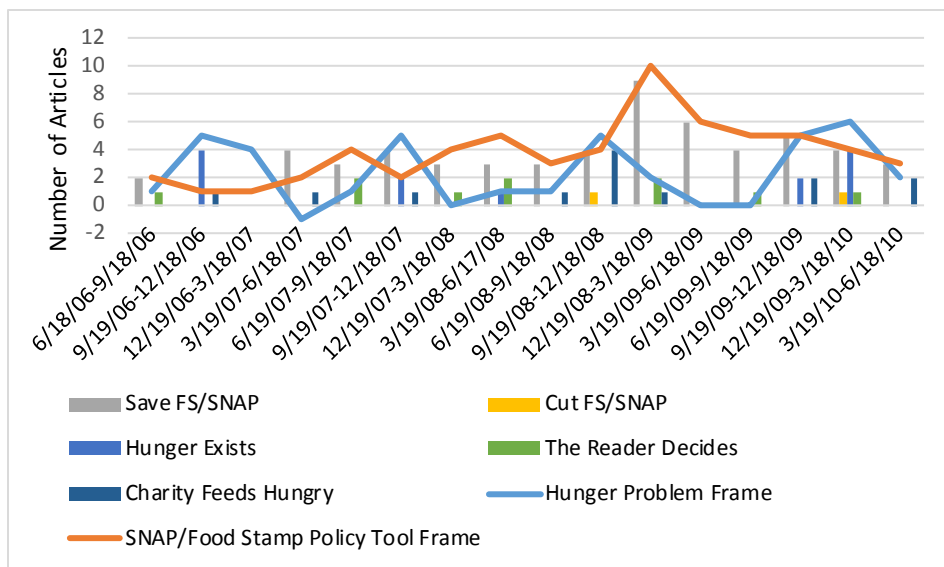


Figure J6. *New York Times*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008.

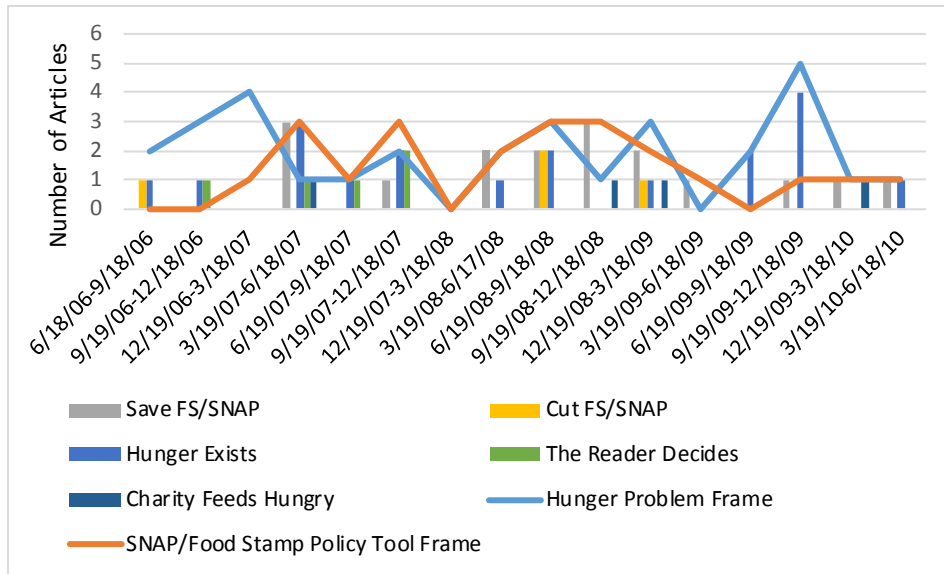


Figure J7. *Washington Post*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008.

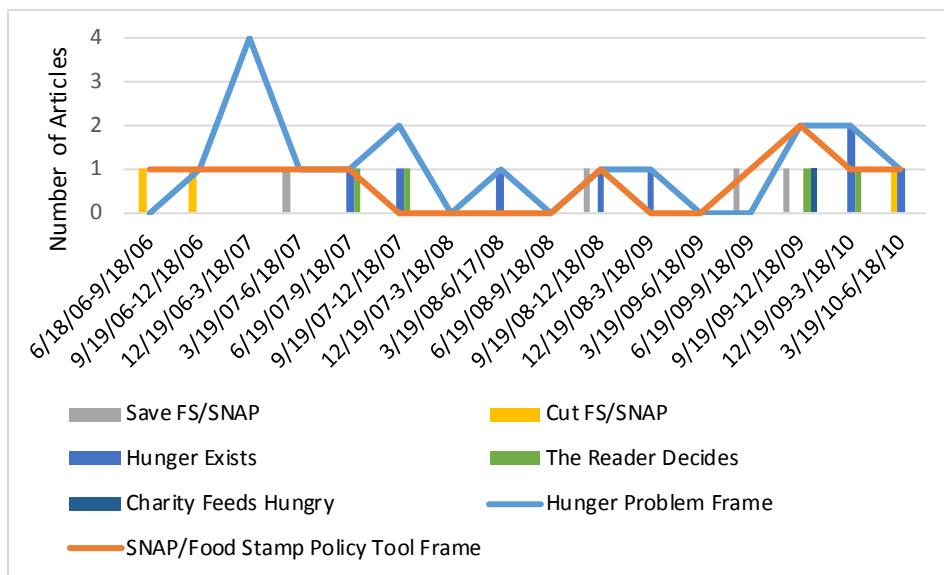


Figure J8. *USA Today*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008.

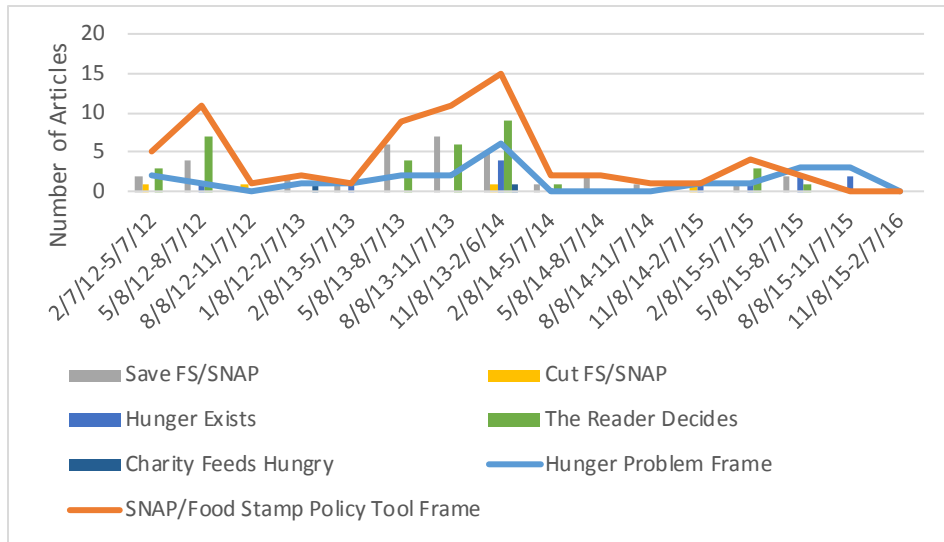


Figure J9. *New York Times*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Agriculture Act of 2014.

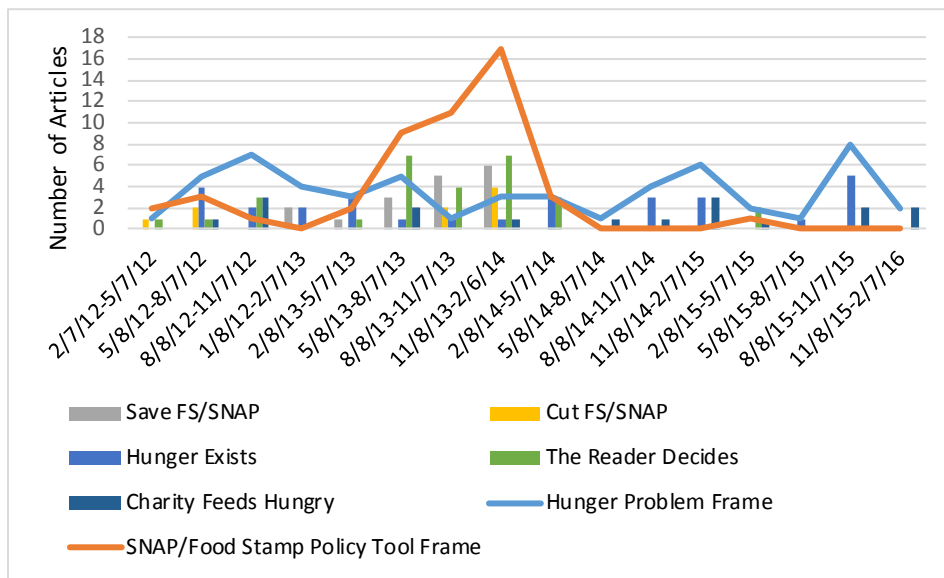


Figure J10. *Washington Post*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Agriculture Act of 2014.

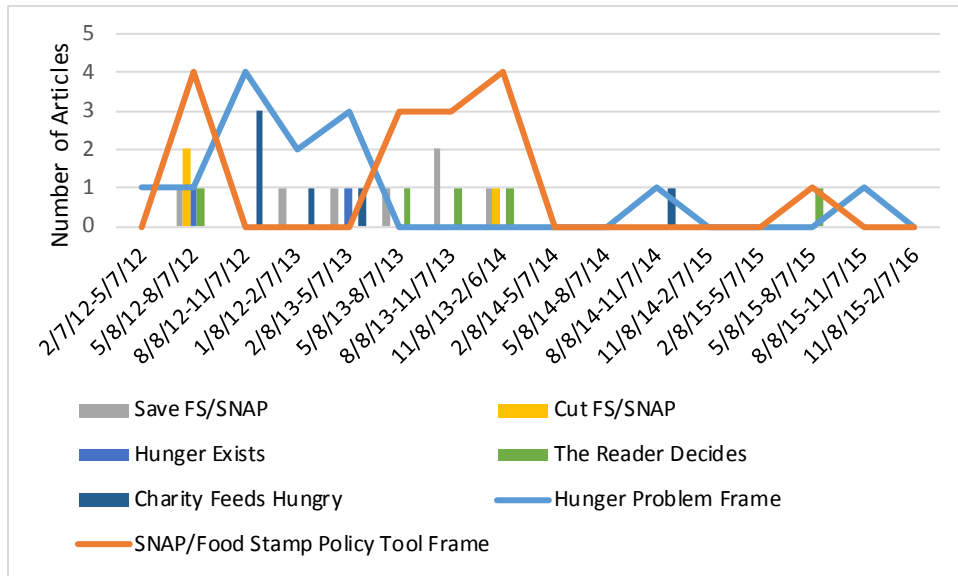


Figure J11. *USA Today*, All Meta-Tones for Both the Hunger Problem and SNAP/Food Stamp Policy Tool Frames, The Agriculture Act of 2014.

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